NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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Editorial Comment

Home-grown Totalitarianism

WHILE we become vigilant against the plotting of foreign totalitarianism here and in other countries whose freedom we want preserved, let us not remain indifferent to the home-grown destroyers of the democratic process.

These villains are not persons alone. Sometimes they are systems, laws or court precedents. But they are none the less dangerous enemies of self-government.

It should be obvious that our system permits minorities to defeat the wishes of the majority. Can we remain indifferent to this situation in the light of what minorities have done to other countries?

In recent weeks, because of the notorious rotten borough system in that state, legislative representatives of a minority in Connecticut scuttled the majority program. Regardless of the merits of the program, this was anti-democratic.

Cities of the state of Washington, in which 65 per cent of the population resides, asked the recent legislature for measures which would enable them to take responsibility for their own civil service rules, clearing of slum areas, solving of traffic problems by acquiring off-street parking areas. The bills were killed.

City government is being splintered into independent "kingdoms," as Carl H. Chatters of the American Municipal Association recently warned, by sometimes well meaning people obsessed by the urge to take their pet services "out of politics" and by public employee groups who go over the heads of local city councils to ask the state to fix their hours of work and pay.

A great variety of problems which should be handled by the regular city governments are being handled separately by special authorities, boards or commissions, sometimes to place them outside restrictive tax and debt limits.

Boston again faces the virtual certainty that well under half the voters will return notorious James M. Curley to the office of mayor simply because the opposition vote will be split among three or more candidates. A run-off or other system of voting capable of reflecting the majority undoubtedly would have saved this otherwise great city from ever having had to endure the waste and embarrassment of having such a political buccaneer at its head.

During its recent session, the Massachusetts legislature came within a few votes of taking away from several of its cities a new form of government for which their citizens had voted overwhelmingly.

These are only a few of hundreds of instances of the nullification of the democratic process. It is not only unfair. It is dangerous to permit one part of the population to keep arbitrary power by ignoring the fact that the United States no longer is predominantly rural. The roots of our self-governing system are in our communities. Continued perversion of the realities places it in constant peril.

A Most Precious Gift To Ourselves

MANY of us do a lot of worrying these days about the future for ourselves, our families, our communities, our state, nation and world. We are concerned with the struggle between personal freedom and stateism. We eat our heart out about the atom bomb and what it might do if its forces are unleashed for evil. Some of us conclude that Communism or some other form of ism is about the worst threat that confronts our civilization.

Wise men—like General Omar S. Bradley, for example—are worried by something else. They see the gravest threat in the fact that so many well meaning Americans shirk their responsibilities as citizens.

So many of us have a lot to say about our problems—local, state and national—but when it comes to action we step back politely and bow out of the picture. We like to shoot off our mouth but not lift even a little finger to effect a remedy.

General Bradley put it this way: So many of us "are 100 per cent Americans in their daily protestations and 10 per cent citizens in their daily routine of neglect."

Some of the most menacing thinking in this field comes from the responsible merchant or manufacturer, for instance, who casually comments that he can't bother with local or national government—even when it gets very bad—"because I can make money so fast that I find it cheaper to pay the higher bill than to spend my time trying to improve the situation."

That's an obvious fallacy, of course, because when government goes from bad to worse the consequences may mean life or death, and even loss of property, to the man who believes he can get away from it all by indifference.

There is not a single problem in this community that could not be solved swiftly if most of the ablest citizens would devote even a small part of their time to civic affairs. It is true there are some who do that, but their number is rarely great enough to be effective. The same thing is true about state and national affairs as it is about local matters.

Unless the ablest of our citizens spend more time on running their government, General Bradley correctly fears, we can lose the struggle for personal freedom through default and apathy. It's a time for citizen awakening, for a new kind of civic patriotism which is of priceless potential value to our own community and to America.

Editorial, *The Herald Statesman,*
Yonkers, New York

Everything's Changed Now

In Kansas City budgets balance, typists can type and taxes get service during ten years of good management.

By KARL DETZER*

THE taxi driver, leaving Kansas City airport, said: "If it's fun you want, Mister, you got the wrong town. No horse parlors, no dice games, no slot machines, no fancy houses. This Cookingham's to blame. All he thinks of is bringing in new industries and things like that."

Five minutes later the driver pointed to a new building. "Some New York store called Macy's is putting nine million bucks in it. Town's lousy with new buildings. Plenty of work for everybody, but no fun. Ever know Tom Pendergast? There was a character! He was good for Kansas City. Not like Cookingham. Sure, there was lots of graft in the old days, but you could have fun, too. Now, this Mr. Cookingham. . ."

I found several other persons in Kansas City who lacked enthusiasm for L. P. Cookingham. After nearly ten years most citizens still think of him as "the new city manager." One man who complained was a gambler, long out of work. Another was a petty racketeer. Two more were old style politicians, hungrily sitting on the outside looking in. But most of Kansas City's 450,000 people approve so heartily of Cookingham that after a decade of "no fun" they fight every attempt by some other city to lure him away.

Cookingham denies that he is responsible for the aura of virtue around the 29-story city hall which Boss Tom Pendergast built just before the federal government sent him to prison. The council and the mayor, Cookingham says, deserve the credit. They, in turn, are willing to let him have it.

"Cookie's got what it takes," one councilman explained. "Naturally we back him up. He has ideas and he has guts and that's what it takes in Kansas City."

Ten years ago, after fourteen years of free-for-all corruption such as few American cities have ever known, Kansas City elected a council of Republicans and non-machine Democrats who threw the plunder boys out of the city hall. Many citizens thought then that good government would come automatically, but they soon discovered that a show of hands in favor of civic virtue was not enough. Kansas City needed an expert clean-up man.

The city's credit was ruined. Its bonds were about to be defaulted. Its public records were scrambled, its payrolls padded.

Council members, searching diligently for someone capable of unscrambling the municipal mess, remembered an article[1] about a man named Cookingham who was doing a spectacular job managing Saginaw,

*Mr. Detzer, author, screen playwriter and newspaper publisher, is roving editor of *The Reader's Digest.*

[1]See "Meet Mr. Cookingham," *The Reader's Digest,* November 1938.

Michigan. They wrote to him. But theirs was only one of hundreds of letters he received from worried citizens from coast to coast and Cookingham was slow to reply. So a delegation flew to Saginaw to look him over.

They found a lean, energetic man of 43 with an eye for budget figures and a nose that was forever sniffing into the darker corners of city administration. For nearly twenty years, ever since he had won his night school diploma in engineering after service in World War I, he had been building streets, sewers and water plants, balancing budgets, firing incompetents, managing small towns, dealing with voters and politicians. Almost before he knew it, Kansas City hired him.

Finds a Sick Town

Arriving there, he took a long look at the municipal scene, totted up some figures and reported in a loud voice to the taxpayers just what he found. Suits were pending or judgments had been rendered against the city for nearly $7,500,000 for employees' back pay, materials and supplies. The past year had left a deficit of $2,733,000 in operating funds. Unpaid garbage collection bills of $230,000 and street lighting bills of $420,000 stared the city in the face. Millions collected from the taxpayers had gone down the sewer of dirty politics. Kansas City was a very sick town.

The first place Cookingham investigated was the water department. There were 862 names on the payroll, not half that many jobs. Within two years he had got rid of 500 excess employees, had the department running more efficiently. This not only saved half a million dollars a year formerly paid to political hacks but it gave the employees who remained a chance to be of genuine service to the people.

For example, Cookingham found that the average citizen, going to the water department with a complaint or a request, had to wait an average of 40 minutes while inept clerks pawed through antique filing systems, hunting the citizen's name. Today it takes something like 40 seconds for the vastly reduced staff to find a name on the books.

Among the water expenditures was an annual fee paid to a local "engineering" corporation, made up of political insiders, to hunt leaks in the water mains. In eight years this group had pocketed $500,000 of city funds. The contract was cancelled. Now the regular repair crews find plenty of time between construction jobs, and at no extra cost, to check on leaks and keep them in hand.

The farther the long, inquisitive Cookingham nose poked into the water department, the stronger the odor of corruption became. In 1922 the voters had bonded the city for $11,000,000 for new waterworks and had set up a sinking fund to pay off this indebtedness out of profits by 1942. Cookingham found only $25,000 in this fund.

Cookingham and the council refunded the debt and in eight years the city had not only paid off $3,500,000 on the bonds but had spent $3,800,000 on improvements, all out

of honestly administered water profits.

Whenever any group or faction attempted political pressure to cramp Cookingham's style, the mayor and council, to a man, battled for their new manager. With the assistance of the city council, which backed the manager to the hilt, Cookingham went through department after department, abolished hundreds of nonessential offices, dismissed worthless employees, kept honest ones.

He put modern accounting systems into the offices, modern engineering practices into public works. He maintains a never-ending system of auditing the books to make sure that politics does not take its toll. He insists that to remain on the payroll a typist must know how to type and a bookkeeper has to understand bookkeeping.

Business leaders were enthusiastic for the most part but the rank and file of voters remained apathetic. How would one go about getting a traffic ticket fixed or finding a job for a deserving nephew, now that civic virtue sat in the city hall? Cookingham had known enough voters in other towns to sense what was lacking.

"It's like this," he explained to the city council. "In the old days the plain citizen had someone to turn to with his little personal problems. That someone was the precinct captain or the district leader, and he was a very busy boy indeed.

"Maybe he was honest, maybe not. At least he was a human being —not just a cold efficiency system in the city hall. This fellow probably didn't know anything about efficiency and he cared less. But he did favors for a lot of people and, when election day came, they did favors for him. Our job now is to find an honest substitute for the precinct politician."

New Role for Welfare

Fortunately the Kansas City charter offered a simple and workable solution to this problem in its department of public welfare.

In Missouri the state handles direct relief and the municipal welfare department is responsible for prisons and paroles, public markets, city hospitals, mental investigations, legal aid to the poor and recreation.

"Our welfare workers will take the places of the old precinct captains," Cookingham explained to the council. "They'll be our direct contact with the people. They must be smart, energetic and honest. I don't want a lot of cold-fish case workers, either. We must have warm, friendly workers who not only know their jobs but also know what makes people tick."

To head the department he appointed not a sociologist but an enthusiastic young economist named Hayes Richardson. Dr. Richardson not only knew how to be helpful, he knew how to keep his budget balanced. The new director found his department a cesspool of crooked inefficiency. The city prisons for men and women were dirty beyond belief, evil in influence, much too costly. They had been milked dry by the "old gang" of politicians, were unsafe and unfit places to keep human beings.

The prison farm was a wasted nambles. Prisoners idled out their erms in nauseous cells while hired elp—of the proper political com-lexion—did what little work was one. With hundreds of acres of ertile, municipally owned fields lying nworked, the city bought canned egetables for the prisoners all the ear around. It was an open secret at such vegetables as were raised n the farm went to certain favored staurants. But if they paid for em the city's accounts never dis-losed the fact.

"Make the prisons self-supporting nd the prisoners self-respecting," ookingham ordered.

Prison Cleanup

Richardson began to plug the housands of leaks. Prisoners craped and shoveled tons of dirt ut of cells and corridors, and atched broken walls.

The city had been paying an verage of $12,000 a year to a pri-ate contractor to pick up and dis-ose of garbage from city hospitals nd refuse from vegetable stalls at he markets. Cookingham cancelled his contract, and prisoners now aul the garbage to the prison farm where a huge pressure cooker con-erts it into food for stock. The ity bought a few pigs, cows and hickens. Garbage disposal became fattening operation. There are ow 1,000 hogs on the farm, 6,000 hickens and 42 cows.

A modern canning plant, oper-ted by prisoners, puts up tens of housands of tins of home grown egetables each summer. Prisoners at plenty of pork, hospital patients get milk and eggs, and last year the city took in $59,000 from its municipal farm. "Just as important as the financial saving," Cookingham points out, "is the fact that prisoners don't just sit around and mope. They have a chance to regain their self-respect."

The city market had for years been a heavy drain on finances. Improved business methods make it not only self-sustaining but yield enough profit to help operate other phases of the welfare department, including 47 new playgrounds.

Besides, there are eight full-time and fourteen part-time civic centers, twelve dance centers, nine day camps for boys and girls, eight units of a thriving children's theater. Thousands of the city's oldsters have joined municipal square-dancing clubs which meet in free recreation halls. Three hundred baseball and softball teams, sixteen football teams and 180 basketball teams are sponsored and supervised by welfare workers. Bands, orchestra and choruses under direction of the department last year gave 150 public concerts.

The welfare workers spend their days and nights "out in the precincts," just as the old-time politicians did. But instead of helping out people only after they have got into trouble, these workers help them keep out of trouble and at the same time help them have a good time.

Big graft was not difficult to spot; it was petty larceny on a big scale which was difficult to overcome. The fire department was the scene of

(Continued on page 338)

Economic Study Pays Off

Instead of putting report on shelf, Milwaukee follo its recommendations and boosts city license revenue

By BRUNO V. BITKER and WILLIAM L. SLAYTON*

HARDLY a city in the United States lacks its collection of dust covered plans and reports, many of them well done and with worthy recommendations. But because of lethargy, procrastination or political opposition they were not put into effect. Their non-use is a shocking waste. If American cities were to spend a tenth of the time employed in preparing plans and reports on carrying them into effect they would be much further ahead.

A refreshing reversal of this practice is the use made of the *Report of the Commission on the Economic Study of Milwaukee*. This report, too, could have been filed away to collect dust, read only by Milwaukee historians and those collecting data on Milwaukee's economic status. The contrary, however, has been true. The report has been accepted as a guide on fiscal policies and, in the six months since publication, it has already had a decided effect upon city actions.

*Mr. Bitker, an attorney, was chairman of the Commission on the Economic Study of Milwaukee, whose report is discussed here. He is a member of the Governor's Commission on Human Rights and the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations and has served on numerous other bodies including the Milwaukee Sewerage Commission and the Mayor's Committee on Living Costs and Food Conservation. Mr. Slayton, formerly Milwaukee's municipal reference librarian, was also a member of the commission. He is now associate director of the Urban Redevelopment Study at the Public Administration Clearing House in Chicago.

The report was the idea of May Frank P. Zeidler, who realized sho ly after his election in April 19 that his largest headache would the effect of inflation on the cit finances. To solve this problem, appointed the Commission on t Economic Study of Milwaukee discover the facts and provide t answers.

The commission consisted of t chairman, Bruno V. Bitker, lo attorney and former head of OPA the Milwaukee area; J. Mar Klotsche, president of the M waukee State Teachers' Colleg Walter E. Rilling, business ma ager for Milwaukee's public schoo George C. Saffran, director of M waukee's budget bureau, and Willi L. Slayton, at that time Milwauke municipal reference librarian.

The commission soon realized t magnitude of the problem. In discussions more and more questi were raised, the answers to wh would be necessary before the ma question of inflation could be swered. It soon became appar that the commission could not its perform the research or compile necessary statistics if it were to its job properly.

The commission had to turn outside sources for help and it only logical to call upon the U versity of Wisconsin for aid. Harold M. Groves, professor of e nomics at the university and a known authority on public finan

xpressed keen interest in the project nd offered to supervise the necesary research as a civic contribution. Ie assigned four of his graduate stuents in economics to the project. hey spent their entire summer in ilwaukee, working day and night, undays and holidays, gathering nd compiling the necessary material.

The mayor was anxious to have e report before adoption of the udget late in November and speed, herefore, was essential. Because of s urgency a job which should have ken a year or two was condensed to four months. The report was leased the latter part of October.

Reaction was amazing. Both local ewspapers devoted an unusual nount of space to a discussion of e findings and all public officials re unanimous in their praise of e report's value. It has become e standard by which all proposals e measured. "What does the SOM," as it has been abbreviated, ay about it?" is a common question.

Commission's Report

No particular section of the reort is in itself unusual. The report mbines new material with elents of reports previously made t nowhere assembled. It presents comprehensive rather than a ecemeal picture. It has become he source" for information.

First is a report of the commison itself with specific recommendaons. These are based upon the dings and recommendations of e research staff. The rest of the port is the staff's.

It begins with a review of the ght of the American cities, an excellent summary of the problems facing all municipalities. This is followed by a study of Milwaukee's economic base which discloses the foundation upon which the city rests its financial requirements and indicates the direction in which the city is moving. The next part analyzes current income and suggests possible increases in existing sources of revenue as well as proposals for new ones. The fifth section discusses operating expenses and permanent improvement requirements. It is followed by a chapter on the city's policy of capital financing and by another on government simplification.

A closing chapter, "Major Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations," contains 45 summaries of the detailed studies of the research staff.

Fiscal Recommendations

The city has paid greatest heed to the commission's recommendations concerning fiscal policy. One point on which the commission took a strong stand was the increase in tavern licenses. Milwaukee's fees were far below the permissible maximum as well as much lower than in cities of comparable size. The commission recommended increasing the fees to the maximum of $600 from the existing rate of $200. Shortly after the report was published such a proposal was made in the common council. The council compromised by increasing tavern licenses to $400. Additional income amounted to $500,000.

The commission also recommended increases in certain other permit and license fees. The revenue from these

fees did not begin to cover the cost to the city of supplying the services for which they were issued. The council accepted these recommendations and increased such fees to a point where income was $100,000 greater.

Three of the new sources of revenue proposed by the commission are still under consideration by the common council. One is an admissions tax for which an ordinance was introduced. The second was a sewer service charge. Both of these suggestions have created some controversy.

The report asserted that the most logical source of additional revenue was a city income tax. The commission recommended its consideration as a just method of supplementing the general property tax, since it is deemed the most equitable means of reaching those who use the city's facilities continuously and directly but who avoid the burden of supporting them by living outside the corporate limits.

Unfortunately, the 1947 legislature prohibited Milwaukee from making use of this source of revenue and the present legislature has again refused to permit Milwaukee to do so. The failure of the legislature to open this door was due in great measure to the failure of many groups to appreciate the benefits which the city would derive from such a tax and, particularly, to recognize the fairness of the tax. The report, however, at least provided the impetus in getting the city to seek repeal of the prohibition.

As a long term, capital improvement plan, the commission urged that certain essential and critical major improvement requirements be fulfilled. It recommended that the amount allocated for permanent improvements in the budget for 1949 be set at $10,000,000. In fact it was fixed at $9,530,000. This brought the total sum available for permanent improvements as of January 1, 1949, to over $41,000,000.

The principal problem in capital planning is that of priority among the projects. The economic report suggested a set of priority criteria. Although no actual standards have been adopted it is significant that the city's long term improvement program technical committee has appointed as coordinator the member of the economic commission's research staff who prepared the suggested set of standards. The technical committee is now getting in touch with all city departments in an attempt to coordinate and schedule the projects.

Administrative Recommendations

The economic commission pointed out that its report did not purport to analyze the administrative efficiency of the city's government. Except for occasional spot checks of particular services, no attempt had been made to survey administratively the whole of the local government since 1913. Accordingly, the commission recommended that a comprehensive administrative survey be undertaken.

Pursuant to that recommendation the common council appropriated $50,000 and employed the firm of Griffenhagen and Associates to undertake such a survey. It is now

in progress. If all the other results of the economic report are discounted, this particular one will have more than justified the time, effort and money that went into the economic study.

The commission also felt it was essential for the city to permit establishment of additional housing and businesses within the city's limits. Accordingly, it recommended a continued program of annexation to acquire the necessary space. This is being carried on vigorously.

In addition to the usual program of annexation, the city has recently appropriated $25,000 for the specific purpose of acquiring options on tracts of outlying land for resale to private builders for either large scale housing projects or industrial developments. This land lies outside the city and after purchase will be annexed. The idea is to enable the city to concentrate its utility installations and improvements in certain areas so as to: (1) direct the growth of the city, (2) obtain the greatest use of the improvements it must provide, and (3) create neighborhood communities rather than the usual suburban sprawl.

Harbor Development

Development of Milwaukee's harbor was another recommendation of the commission and, in the nation-wide competition for industry, Milwaukee is fully exploiting its natural harbor. For example, the common council recently appropriated an additional $60,000 to purchase a new 75-ton crane lift to help handle heavy equipment which is being shipped directly to European and Caribbean points from the port of Milwaukee. When completed it will be the heaviest lift on the Great Lakes.

The commission also recommended installing parking meters. This was considered desirable not because of the income but for the purpose of regulating parking. The common council gave favorable consideration to this proposal and, subject to passage of enabling legislation, 1,000 meters will be installed.

The report contained a brief section on the acquisition of public utilities. It pointed out the advantages to a municipally owned utility accruing from the preferential treatment under the state and federal income tax laws. The commission suggested that a detailed study of the subject be undertaken.

At this time the only steps taken in that direction are toward creation of a transit authority which would be empowered to operate the public transportation system not only in Milwaukee County but in the counties adjacent to the west and to the north. A bill covering the proposed transit authority is pending before the state legislative committee.

This makes an impressive list of projects adopted by the city at the suggestion of the *Report of the Commission on the Economic Study of Milwaukee.* It is always hard to determine, of course, how influential such a report is in the adoption of specific measures, since one can always claim that certain projects would have been adopted even though the report had not been issued. Then, too, some projects were under con-

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We Must Keep Ballot Short

Survey shows that ticket makers step in to 'help' in cities where voter must vote for nine for city council.

By RICHARD S. CHILDS*

WHEN an American voter faces a partisan ballot of, say, 40 offices, he puts an x in the Republican—or the Democratic—circle at the top of the party column, thus voting for several candidates he knows something about and 35 more whom he knows so little about that the printer could have put the names in the wrong column without his detecting the error. Hence the power of the party machine, the boss and the general dominance of professional ticket makers.

The short ballot doctrine calls for making minor offices appointive and getting the ballot down to not over five offices at any one time and place, five, according to classic opinion, being about as many candidates as a voter will select for himself without becoming blindly dependent on ready made tickets prepared for him by interested leaders.

From the beginning the short ballot principle was advanced as an essential factor in the council-manager plan; in fact, the latter was first advanced as an application of the former. So the early council-manager charters provided for councils of five members elected at large. In most of the cities where the councils have been made larger than five proportional representation was adopted or terms were rotated or some members were chosen from wards, so that now, in fifty such cities of over 10,000 with councils of from nine to twenty, the ballot is in practically every case not over five.[1]

The purpose of this article is to examine the experience in Fort Worth, Dallas, Long Beach (California) and Sacramento, the four council-manager cities which have been for some years off the rails of the original concept by providing for councils of nine elected at large at one time on nonpartisan ballots.[2]

When the typical voter in these cities has faced the alphabetical list of candidates on the ballot with no party labels to guide him and the injunction to "Vote for Nine," did he have nine opinions of his own to express? Or did he, in fact, characteristically, accept proffers of complete tickets or slates, vote a straight ticket and let his power gravitate into the hands of interested ticket

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[1]Cities using proportional representation for election of nine council members at large are Cincinnati, Toledo, Cambridge, Lowell and Wheeling. Other cities electing nine at large not discussed here are Richmond, which held its first election under its new charter in 1948; Hartford which elects nine at large at one time but each voter may vote for only six; Elizabeth City (North Carolina) which elects mayor and eight councilmen at large at one time. Villages and towns, which supposedly have less difficulty in handling long ballots, are also not examined here.

[2]Councils of seven elected at large at one time on nonpartisan ballots exist in numerous council-manager cities.

makers? Did candidates who were unable to get on such a ticket have much chance for election?

Now tickets are not objectionable and will exist and ought to exist as features of natural leadership. As in a social club, there may properly be a nominating committee to interview logical candidates, ask them to serve, obtain their consent and sponsor their candidacy. The best citizens are properly reluctant to seek the post unasked or to advance their own claims to consideration.

The shortest ballot still requires such a nominating function for best results and in Dayton, with only three or two to elect each biennium, at least one citizens' committee has sponsored candidates every time. But when the citizens of Dayton follow, as they almost always do, the recommendations of their principal civic group, it is with a concentrated and ample scrutiny of the tiny list and the citizens' committee must cater carefully.[3]

Such scrutiny is diluted when the voter must vote for nine and some of the nine must be mere names to many voters, requiring a pocket list, homemade or ready-made, to avert errors of recollection during the hurried moments in the voting booth.

So goes the theory!

The narratives which follow are based primarily on the news story reporting each election on the following day in the leading local daily. Quotations not otherwise attributed are from those news stories. In watching for the influence of tickets and ticket makers, observe that sometimes the nine incumbents ran as a group for reelection and constituted in effect a mutually sustaining ticket in addition to those groupings of candidates identified with sponsoring organizations. Incumbents were frequently persons who had entered the council by co-option to fill vacancies created by resignation or death.

To easterners, to whom nonpartisan ballots are less familiar, the failure of the local Democratic or Republican city committees to throw their weight, covertly or otherwise, will seem astonishing; the full news accounts of the elections in only two cases mention activity by the local wings of the national parties!

What Is Experience?

And now see the part which tickets played in these elections and how often they went intact to victory or defeat by similar votes for each candidate thereon!

Fort Worth, Texas. Population in 1926, 106,000; now 268,000. In 1924 the treasury was empty and payrolls were in arrears, resulting in adoption of the council-manager plan in December of that year.

1925. Council of nine elected, consisting entirely of successful businessmen, all but one selected by the *Citizens Association* that had procured adoption of the charter. Candidates ran for Place Number 1, Place Number 2, etc.; six had one opponent each, three had none. The first manager collected $729,000 in delinquent taxes, cut expenditure for supplies by 10 to 20 per cent by centralized purchasing, and secured better paving at 20 per cent less cost.

1927. *Incumbents* all reelected. Five were unopposed; one, the mayor, barely won, 6,513 to 6,340.

1929. *Incumbents* reelected without opposition with only 700 perfunctory votes cast. Some of the nine members

[3]See "It's a Habit Now in Dayton," National Municipal Review. September 1948.

had entered the council by appointment by the remaining members to fill vacancies.

1931. *Incumbents* reelected without opposition, a few more than 700 votes (out of 34,400 eligible) being cast.

1933. Three or two candidates for each of the nine places. Eight *incumbents* were reelected against opposition of *Citizens Ticket* and *People's Ticket* and two *independents*. One man endorsed by both tickets beat out an incumbent. The *Telegram* in the neighboring city of Temple said editorially: "The men who were elected again are successful businessmen, all of high standing."

1935. Six candidates drafted by the *Good Government League* (friends of the charter) were elected and three of a new group called *People's Progressive League*. One incumbent was unopposed; the others had two or one opponents. The new council included seven *incumbents*. Two were elected on reckless promises of cheap gas, cheap electric lights and lower carfare.

1937. "*People's Progressive League* wrested control of the city council from the *Good Government League*, taking six of the eight contested places and unseating five incumbents. One man was endorsed by both groups and had no opposition. . . . Progressives waged their campaign on an eight-plank platform including a demand for a five cent bus fare and substantial reductions in utility rates."

George D. Fairtrace, city manager for six years, was promptly ousted. In August another city manager was ousted by five votes including those of the Good Government League members, "after he refused to recommend the reappointment of R. E. Rover as city attorney."

Recall Elections

In December 1937 a recall election altered the balance of the council, which thereafter numbered four *Progressive Leaguers*, four *Good Government Leaguers* and the mayor who was entreated by a councilman "to join with Progressive League councilmen in voting to put future recall balloting on a *party* basis. . . . He argued that there were 'parties' in city politics and that last Friday's election was a travesty and a hoax." Council wrangles became incessant and resignations brought the council for a time down to five members.

In February 1938 deadlocks in the council and "continued turmoil since last April" were advanced as reasons for a short lived effort by a *Women's Patriotic Association* to get up a mass meeting and petition for reversion to the commission plan.

1938. In July a *Citizens Recall Committee*, making a more determined effort than the one the previous December, filed petitions for the recall of five councilmen and succeeded by a heavy vote, replacing them with a majority "pledged to non-interference with the manager . . . a good sound council." The new council members in a caucus voted "to function as originally intended under the new city manager form."

1939. About 11,000 voters turned out and reelected all nine members of the council supported by *Council Reelection Committee* "to keep the politicians out of city hall," overwhelming one to three opponents for each place described as representing the Davis *ticket*, the Crowley *ticket;* also A. J. Lee, "the only *independent* in the field."

The "chairman of the Council Reelection organization said . . . our citizens were appreciative of the splendid record made by our council in the eight months they have been in office."

1941. "City council gained a new member in a mild election that offered a sharp contrast to turbulent recalls and strong opposition tickets of recent years. H. Malvern Marks, Jr., an *'independent,'* nudged out incumbent A. B. Smith by 151 votes for the only contested post. . . . Only 2,413 votes were cast in contrast to the 1939 election that offered two complete *tickets* and drew 11,229 people to the polls."

1943. All *incumbents* reelected unopposed; 724 votes cast.

1945. A *Citizens Ticket* opposed the *incumbents* for eight of the nine places. No independents ran. All *incumbents* were reelected with votes of 6,300 to 7,210 over *Citizen Ticket* candidates whose votes ran from 3,805 to 4,655. It was noted that only in a certain twelve of the 79 ballot boxes "the voters showed a disposition to split the tickets widely giving majorities to some candidates from each group."

1947. Nine *incumbents* reelected including Marks, the independent of 1941, only four being opposed; 4,000 votes cast.

1949. The *Greater Fort Worth ticket*

rought five new faces into the council; 8,039 votes cast. For one of the nine laces this ticket made no endorsement ut won the other eight over four other *ickets* (not all complete) by 15 to 25 er cent margins over the next best *ndependent Voters Committee* candiates.

The story of Dallas is closely arallel except that the raiders lasted wo terms.

DALLAS, TEXAS, population 294,000, lects to nine places. Places 1 to 6 re in six wards but candidates are elected by the voters at large. The wo highest candidates in each ward the primary go to the final election. laces 7, 8 and 9 are nominated and oted upon at large in the primary and a candidate for any of these gets a ajority, he need not run again in the nals.

1931. *"Charter Slate* Wins Election ith Big Vote." "The *Citizens Charter ssociation ticket* for members of the rst city council under the city manager lan of government were swept into ffice by majorities that almost approached unanimity." Light vote. Result conceded in advance. Winners 0,050 to 8,560; next highest 1,203; ifteen candidates.

The Charter Association had had long attle to secure the charter, using the nitiative to pass 39 amendments, two o one. "Each of the nine men elected was drafted after the hardest effort on he part of the association leaders and heir friends, agreeing to serve only hrough a sense of civic duty." "Efforts f the old line politicians to nominate *ticket* against the charter group failed fter numerous caucuses had been held, with most of the men sought to be nominated in opposition declaring their allegiance to the *charter's slate.* A nique feature of the campaign was he fact that none of the charter candidates made a speech nor any promise. . . The Charter Association did not ssue a platform."

1933. "Council Reelected on Majority Vote without Runoff." Eight *incumbents* and one new *Charter Association* replacement of an incumbent who refused renomination; 35 candidates. Opposition by *Home Government Association, Progressive Voters League,* and *Socialist party.* Opposition stressed failure to lower utility rates and employment of City Manager John N. Edy. "Mr. Edy was charged with hardness of heart, discourtesy, the fact that he is not a native of Dallas and that he received $16,500 salary. The 26 opposition candidates were agreed on one thing—that they would 'get rid of Edy' as their first official act." Former Mayor Tate and three others ran independently and got light vote.

1935. *"Civic Ticket* Runs Away with Election; Edy Quits Today. Complete Change in City Council is Dictum of Voters." Nine candidates of a *new group* called *Citizens Civic Association* won each of the nine places in the primary election over *Citizens Charter Association* candidates. Forty-five per cent voted three to two. Charter group and Edy, city manager for four years, showed balanced budget and depression economies in contrast to prior deficits. "Opposition kept its movements clothed in secrecy for the most part; promised repeal of new sewer tax." Civic candidates 11,952 to 10,550; Charter 9,734 to 7,723. Charter forces did not take alarm until near end of campaign.

1937. Primary election: *"Charter* and *Forward Dallas* Candidates Go into Runoff." Forty-four candidates, five for each of eight places and four for the ninth. *Citizens Charter Association* candidates led five of the groups; *Forward Dallas Association—Legion of Honor,* four. *Utility Rate Reduction League* got no places in the runoff. Light vote. The *All Dallas Association* and the *Dallas Democratic Association* also endorsed candidates. Only one candidate had endorsement of two groups.

Voters Seek Help

"Election judges caught many voters trying to enter the voting machine enclosures with cards bearing the names of candidates used in guiding them. . . . Whenever these cards were seen they were confiscated." [!] "A few voters came to polls and asked officials to tell them the names of candidates on a certain ticket so they could vote for them. . . . This wish was not complied with."

Editorial: "The implication is clear that Dallas is best satisfied with the efforts of the mayor and P. M. Brinker as a minority to close the city against the invasion of the gambler, the bookie, the slot machine and street solicitation. The responsibility of a majority of the

present council for existing unsatisfactory conditions cannot be evaded."

Runoff Election. "Five *Forward Dallas* and Four *Charter* Candidates Elected." Seven incumbents including the mayor. Thirty per cent voted. "A determined fight likely will be made to unseat City Manager Moseley by leaders in the *Forward Dallas—Legion of Honor* organization." "A large number of cards bearing names of candidates were taken up by judges. Proponents of the *Forward—Legion* organization had distributed thousands of these cards and other devices to help people *vote that ticket straight.*" Both the *Charter* and the *Forward—Legion* received support from the *Utility Rate Reduction League* and the *All Dallas Association,* but the *Dallas Democratic Association* members will begin a campaign for a referendum to revert to the commission or aldermanic form of government soon."

Editorial: "While the belligerent opponents of organized vice hold only four of the nine places on the council, they should have a more effective voice than during the last two years, when they could count regularly on only two votes."

1939. "Smashing Win Puts All *Charter* Candidates on Council." Thirty-three candidates, three or four for each place, all but five described as *"Charter," "Non-Partisan"* or *"Progressive."* Only one incumbent ran. No runoff needed. Candidates of the *Citizens Non-Partisan Association* took second place in all the council races but one. Lethargic campaign until *Non-Partisans* "began charging that the *Citizens Charter ticket* was banker-inspired and banker-controlled." The *Progressive Civic Association* "wanted a full-time mayor and councilmen elected by districts instead of from the entire city." City Manager Moseley "openly was marked for dismissal by the *Progressives*" and the *Non-Partisans* promised to oust him also. Second high man, W. B. Johnson, "was one of the charter candidates attacked by the *Non-Partisan* campaign speakers for alleged banker connections."

Editorial praised "the exceptional strength of the group of representative citizens named to the council places, the united support of the daily newspapers of Dallas, the constructive program."

1941. "Mayor and Council Reelected by Overwhelming Vote."

1943. "Dallas's Quietest Election Returns Council to Office." No opposition except a few odd write-in-votes!

1945. All *incumbents* reelected without opposition.

1947. In the primary two *Citizens Charter Association* candidates got a majority. Other seven went to runoff against *All Dallas, G. I.* and *Veterans party.* Forty-six candidates of five parties and one independent. The *All Dallas* seven faced the *Charter* seven for the runoff.

Runoff Election. Six out of the seven remaining *Charter* candidates were elected. "Dallas voters Tuesday *returned the Citizens Charter Association to power.*"

1949. "Charter Slate Wins All Nine Council Jobs." Votes ranged from 13,285 to 15,527 for *Charter* candidates, the three other candidates for each place getting from 7,344 down, and representing three other parties, namely *Dallas County Democratic Association* (frankly partisan), *Dallas Voters Association* and the *Change the Charter Association.* Two *independents* polled 1,916 and 1,254 votes. A *Times Herald* editorial referring to the appearance of the *Democratic Association* said, "For the first time in nearly 30 years, an effort to inject national politics into the city government is being made."

Two California Cities

LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA, population 241,000. A similar chronology (which we condense) begins in 1921, with the election of the whole *ticket* of the group which had promoted the council-manager charter. In 1924 all *incumbents* who desired it were reelected by long leads. In 1927 a new group, the *Straight-Eight Ticket,* captured the city hall and their conduct led to their ousting by recall two years later. In 1930 a man who "was on none of the political *tickets*" won "as an *independent*" and with the others made a "good council" which withstood a recall attempt in 1932. In 1933, four incumbents, four opponents on a *United Citizens* ticket and an independent were elected and all were recalled next year and replaced with civic leaders who withstood a recall, three to one, the following year.

At that election, recalls and efforts to switch to other types of charter having been too frequent, the process of stirring up such attacks by small petitions was made less easy by charter amendment.

In 1936 *incumbents* were easily re-elected but in 1939 they were ousted, the manager was fired, and a *Solid Five* councilmen, who had campaigned together, won and won again in 1942 and 1945. Change of districts brought a special election in 1947 when the *Solid Five* were defeated by the revived *Citizens Charter Committee* whose *ticket* was reelected in 1948.

Long Beach has resort town problems which are reflected in the political turmoil yet the charter survived several attacks and its friends won eight of the fifteen elections.

SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA, population 120,000, puts *incumbents,* labelled as such, at the top of its nonpartisan ballot, so that they have frequently constituted in effect a *ticket.* Here is a condensed story. 1921: the freeholders who had drawn the charter elected four of the nine under proportional representation, which was declared unconstitutional before the next election. 1923 saw in the field two full *tickets* sponsored by the *Civic League* and *Good Government League* respectively and two partial tickets. The *Civic League,* friends of the charter, won eight of the nine places and in 1925 won seven.

Then in 1927 came a successful raid, the *People's Ticket* winning five places and trying vainly for two years to oust a well regarded manager who, under an unorthodox provision in the charter, could only be removed by six votes. He stuck unhappily to his post amid disorder for the next two years.

In 1929 a *Unity League* ticket, heir of the *Civic League* and friends of the charter, elected seven. In 1931, 1933, 1935 and 1937, nine *incumbents,* including some mid-term replacements, were reelected, always with *Unity League* backing. In 1939 eight *incumbents* and one *independent* were elected. In 1941 seven *incumbents* were elected and the same thing happened in 1943, although the *Unity League* had folded up. In 1945 eight *incumbents* won and five won in 1947.

A story of good government interrupted only once in 26 years!

Summary

Obviously candidates who campaign as a group with organized backing may thereby improve their chances over individuals running alone; this is true even under the very short ballot of Dayton.

Is it too invariably true when the voter must "vote for nine"?

The evidence demonstrates that tickets were a feature of the scene; when the voters did get along without them it was usually because the group of incumbents running for reelection constituted a ticket automatically. Of 477 posts—53 elections[4] for nine offices—persons significantly called *independents* did get some but their percentage was no more than 2 per cent if *incumbents* be counted as being on *tickets.*

If terms had been rotated in these four cities, so that ballots read "Vote for Five" (or "Four"), the ticket makers would have had less docile followings and wider variances between the votes cast for their lists. The universality of tickets and their success in these elections is in marked contrast to the record of sponsored organized tickets in a certain 500 elections in 48 cities with shorter ballots under otherwise identical conditions, for in about half of those cities there were never any sponsored tickets at all.[5]

The one true civic group in each city found it feasible and necessary to provide leadership and that leadership was successful most of the time. But each city was the scene of frequent assaults by elements which had been thus kept out of city

[4]Including several partial recall elections.

[5]See "500 Non-political Elections," the REVIEW, June 1949, page 278.

hall, masquerading under pious civic names; it might pay to be ticket makers! Some of these assaults may have reflected a failure of the civic group to cater diligently enough to other decent groups of diverse social and economic standing when making up tickets.

Civic ticket makers are, to be sure, a vast improvement over party machines. Parties have to admit all comers to their ranks and to their captaincies. Sugar attracts flies and a political party possessing the sugar has no means whatever of protecting itself against invasion and contamination by self-seekers. But civic groups, to which admittance is by favor, can protect their own integrity and character and can hand the torch along to equally incorruptible successors.

Following leaders is all right if you have looked at what they offer but blind and uncritical following of even good high-minded leadership is hazardous and is not quite democracy. One-ninth of the public's scrutiny, I submit, makes too pale a spotlight on a candidate! Better not monkey with the short ballot principle!

1949

National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League

St. Paul, November 28, 29, 30

Conference Headquarters—Hotel Lowry

(Make reservations early; write directly to the hotel. Be sure to say you are attending the Conference.)

Cleaning Up the Restaurants

Health authorities educate the public and proprietors to need for strong regulation with workable review board.

By MAURICE E. TROUT*

SINCE the spring of 1947 St. Louis has been experimenting with a new restaurant inspection ordinance. During its more than two years of operation restaurant owners and the food control section of the city's health division have indicated they believe it is a good law.

Some time, of course, will be necessary to show the real success of a regulatory ordinance which undertakes grading controls on a large scale. The solution that St. Louis health officials arrived at in order to obtain passage of the ordinance, however, reveals the role of the independent review board in a new light.

One of the problems of the municipal public administrator is passage of adequate ordinances which can be enforced with vigor and firmness in the interests of the public.

Too often the lawmakers have compromised with the interests to be regulated. Then, too, deadlock between governmental agencies and private business subject to their regulation is a stumbling block to the passage of regulatory legislation. Compromise between these two opponents, so as to secure some type of legislation, often results in a watered-down version of what should have been a beneficial enactment.

Typical of the conflict between a private business not desiring regulation and a government agency bent on protecting the public was the difficulty that arose in 1944 and 1945 between the restaurant business in St. Louis and the city health division. The latter was unable to regulate restaurant conditions with respect to sanitary standards for the good of the public health because of too general provisions in the law. Local courts had a tendency, not because of conflict with the health division but because of the lack of specific legal enforcement grounds, to favor the restaurant owner.

In the face of this situation restaurant conditions in St. Louis were becoming steadily worse. United States public health surveys rated the city as low as 47 out of 100 possible points. The city health commissioner, the late Dr. Joseph Bredeck, resolved to take action by attempting to get a larger enforcement staff and passage of the 1943 recommended restaurant ordinance of the United States Public Health Service. Although he promptly received the increased personnel, he failed to secure the ordinance.

This ordinance provided for the grading of restaurants into A, B and C classifications and eventual elimination of the latter, as well as sanitation measures which would have required some structural changes in practically all restaurants. The grading standards were accepted by the

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industry but the enforcement provisions faced its violent opposition. The ordinance was designed to give real regulation authority to the health commissioner and his subordinate unit, the food control section.

Council Stalls

It was obvious that the restaurant owners had influenced certain municipal council members. After more than a year of stalling, and despite a campaign of education conducted by the city health division, the best bill the council committee could produce was one providing for a permit review board independent of the health division. This feature was not in itself objectionable but the board was to consist of five members, three of them representatives of the industry to be regulated.

This situation could, and perhaps would, make ineffective the grading as well as other features of the ordinance. Restaurant owners, by their majority position on the review board, could ignore the recommendations of the health division, especially those which provided for revocation of licenses or permits because of insanitary conditions.

The restaurant business pointed out that under the ordinance proposed by the health division all permit revocations would be under the jurisdiction of the health commissioner. They protested strongly against vesting such power in the commissioner. They pointed out that, by revoking permits, the commissioner could arbitrarily put them out of business. Stress was placed on the idea—a crucial point among the advocates of the "division of the powers of government"—that the agency that would inspect and rate would also review its own decisions. It was protested that this condition under an aggressive health commissioner would be intolerable.

What the restaurants ignored was the fact that the health division is a technical department and that most of its decisions must be based on established and objective sanitation standards. It is common practice, particularly in municipal affairs, for the health department to decide such matters. However, the restaurants were not to be pacified.

The health division increased its campaign among the people. Copies of its proposed ordinance and a written interpretation of it were sent to clubs, churches, schools and civic leaders. Newspapers supported the campaign.

The municipal council, in response to public pressure, finally approved the bill recommended by the health division except that the council insisted that the right to grant and revoke permits to operate restaurants should not be within the province of the health commissioner. His function was restricted to making recommendations to an independent board.

The composition of that board, however, was the important change. No restaurant owners are on it. The functions of the board of review in restaurant enforcement matters were assigned to the already existing board of public service, which consists of the heads of the departments of president, public utilities, streets and sewers, public welfare and public safety. They are all appointed

by the mayor as heads of their departments for the term for which the mayor is elected. The board may overrule the health commissioner's recommendations as to whether a restaurant may or may not operate.

This compromise seemed to satisfy the restaurants in a situation where compromise was necessary. It was not considered ideal by the health commissioner. However, he had his ordinance with adequate enforcement clauses in it and he could take steps to curb insanitary restaurant conditions by inspection and grading. The ordinance went into effect on April 21, 1947.

Results Beneficial

What are the results after more than two years of operation? During these two years the health division has recommended to the board of public service that the permits of some 50 restaurants either not be granted or that they be revoked. The board revoked or refused the permits of 25. The remaining 25 managed to make changes before the board acted. Generally, they made the changes recommended by the health division and it had withdrawn its original recommendation.

Since all recommendations for permit revocation which actually reached the board of public service were supported by its members, it is obvious that the board respects the technical opinion of health division representatives.

Restaurant owners soon began to reverse their opposition to the health division. After almost ten months of operation under the new ordinance, as reported in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* on February 12, 1948, they took a favorable attitude toward the manner in which the program was being handled. The clean restaurant law was stated to be "a fine thing for business" and "excellently" administered. The health commissioner was praised for not letting "political influence" enter into the issuance of A, B and C ratings. The ordinance had "created confidence among the customers" and it "certainly had greatly improved the standards of the restaurants."

Restaurant people say they feel the type of restaurant eliminated was bad for the industry, both aesthetically and as an unfair competitor. Generally, restaurant owners have lost the fear that they would be unfairly graded by the kind of political inspector sometimes found in municipal inspection.

The health division is satisfied with the review arrangement, as it has produced the desired results. Under the review board arrangement the health division is protected from protests and unfair accusations.

One possible objection to the solution is that even this approach may be arbitrary from the standpoint of government control. But such is not the case. Appeal to the courts from the decisions of the board of public service is always available. No basic legal rights are jeopardized. It is to be noted, however, that no decision of the board of public service has been appealed during the initial two years of operation. And the courts have been relieved of technical health cases which too often clutter up their calenders.

St. Louis' experience may be offered as a case study, showing how one large city administrative agency solved its difficulties in developing a proper regulatory ordinance. A proper and potent ordinance has been enacted, the business regulated is satisfied that the ordinance is fair and the administrative agency is using its technical experience and judgment properly to remove violations of public health standards.

EVERYTHING'S CHANGED NOW

(Continued from page 323)

one example. Fire apparatus last year ran approximately as many miles as it did ten years ago. But on just half as much gasoline.

"We just made fire captains responsible that the mileage and the gallons are in the right proportion," Cookingham explains. "Fire stations aren't filling stations now for anybody's car."

In spite of the taxi driver at the airport who deplored the lack of "fun," most people in Kansas City when election time comes vote to continue honest government. They have quite forgotten the precinct captains who used to promise so much before election day.

The budget is balanced. City hall typists know how to type. Nobody is getting rich at the taxpayers' expense. The people are getting more for each tax dollar than they ever got before. And they are having more fun.

ECONOMIC STUDY PAYS OFF

(Continued from page 327)

sideration in some form prior to issuance of the report. The report, however, pulled all of these projects together, evaluated their importance and recommended specific actions. It thus served as a justification for these projects and the added backing supplied the extra push which made the difference between adoption and rejection.

The record is an impressive one. It strengthens the thesis that if a city is to spend its money and the time and energy of its employees and citizens in the preparation of reports and plans, it can do more than file them in dust-gathering heaps.

News in Review

Georgia Legislature Weakens Democracy

Seeks County Unit Extension But Makes Some Advances

THE effort to extend, by constitutional amendment, the anti-democratic county unit voting system, and the voiding of voter registration lists, were possibly the worst features of the record of the 1949 Georgia legislature.

The county unit system, which gives Fulton County (Atlanta), the most populous in the state, six "units" and a sparsely peopled rural county two units in the nomination of U. S. senators, governor, lieutenant governor, state house officers (secretary of state, etc.), justices of supreme court and judges of the court of appeals, thus grossly under-representing the urban areas, now applies to primaries. Senate Resolution 6 is a proposed constitutional amendment which, if ratified, will result in the use of the system in general elections, beginning in 1950, unless declared contrary to the United States constitution.

Presumably as a move to compel the "white primary" advocated by Governor Herman Talmadge, the legislature by Act 297 requires a complete re-registration for state and county elections. To re-register an applicant must satisfy the registrars that he can read intelligibly and write legibly; and the registrars are given wide discretionary powers otherwise.

In its *Legislative Notes* the Georgia League of Women Voters points out that, in addition to the faults from a democratic standpoint, the re-registration "will cost enormously, both in public funds and in time of the individual citizen and of business firms through disrupting the work of their employees." It says further:

"The right of appeal remains a mockery. The act repeats the constitutional provision that the decision of the registrars stays in force until final disposition of the appeal. Any appeal from the registrars' decision must be filed with them within ten days from the date of the decision. The appeal then goes to the Superior Court. In cases other than death, insanity or criminal disqualifications, the registrars are not forbidden to disqualify a voter within a specified period before the election, so as to give him that period within which to get an appeal heard. Nor is there any provision requiring judicial disposition of a timely appeal before the election."

Other legislation is criticized by the League of Women Voters:

"Act 226 limits the jurisdiction of the courts with respect to all questions relating to the eligibility of candidates. The act provides the political party state executive committee, rather than the courts, as heretofore, shall make the final decision as to the eligibility of a person to become a candidate or to serve in the office he seeks.

"An important provision of the act states the chairman and secretary of the executive committee shall certify the names of the nominees of the party to the secretary of state and this will be conclusive of the nominee's right to have his name placed on the ballot. It would seem that under this act a political party could nominate a candidate who lacks one or

all of the constitutional qualifications for his office, and if he were approved by his party executive committee, his name could be placed on the ballot by the secretary of state.

"The constitutionality of the act has been publicly challenged by several legal authorities including the attorney general of Georgia.

"Its companion Act 218 says the General Assembly shall be the sole judge of the governor's election and qualifications, and shall 'determine all questions relating' to the election of the governor, 'including any contested election, and any question as to the eligibility or qualification of the person elected governor.'

"The inauguration of the governor 'shall be conclusive evidence of his right and title to the office and of his eligibility and qualification.' In other words, after the governor is inaugurated the courts no longer would have the right of passing on his title to the office.

"The constitutionality of this act has also been publicly challenged by several legal authorities including the attorney general."

The picture is not all dark. The league sees these commendatory or hopeful actions:

"The 1949 legislature extended the merit system to the State Department of Public Welfare, the Department of Public Safety and the Public Service Commission, parts of the State Highway Department and, at the governor's discretion, the State Library employees."

"The league is particularly gratified at the passage of Act 309, making mandatory the permissive 1941 Georgia law which provided a county could adopt the secret ballot upon recommendation of one grand jury. The new act also provides ballot boxes shall be so constructed that they may be locked and cannot be opened or the contents tampered with."

"The 1947 legislature passed an optional municipal home rule law, the constitutionality of which is in doubt because 43 of Georgia's 159 counties were specifically exempted by amendment from its provisions.

"Some six or seven cities have elected to come under the provisions of the law and are now operating under home rule charters in spite of their doubtful constitutionality. This situation, however, has tended to retard, if not stop altogether, the movement for the adoption of home rule by other cities.

"H. B. 25, containing virtually the same provisions as the 1947 law, was introduced in this legislature. Under the provisions of this bill, any municipality signifying its wish for home rule in a referendum has the right to frame and adopt a charter for its own government, providing it is consistent with and subject to the constitution and general laws of Georgia. If enacted, this bill may in time result in reducing local legislation presented to the General Assembly. It makes no provision for county home rule.

"H. B. 25 passed the House by a vote of 129 to 17 and is on the Senate calendar for consideration during the 1950 session."

"H. B. 401 provides for a statewide probation system to be administered by the State Pardon and Parole Board. The board is directed to appoint probation officers to conduct pre-sentence investigations and to supervise persons on probation for the superior courts of this state.

"H. B. 402 extends the existing law regulating probation to all sentences less than life imprisonment. It further amends the law covering indeterminate sentences by repealing the

section which automatically releases a prisoner at the end of his minimum sentence provided he has a good record.

"These two bills are on the House calendar for consideration at the 1950 session of the legislature."

Coroner's Functions Modernized in Rhode Island

A law signed May 9, 1949, (chapter 2303) revises the medical examiner system of Rhode Island to provide for a chief medical examiner appointive by the attorney general for a six-year term with responsibility for performing all autopsies. He is to appoint twelve county medical examiners for four-year terms.

The chief medical examiner must be an M.D., qualified in pathology and with at least one year of medico-legal training and the county examiners must be M. D.'s. The chief examiner gets a salary of $7,500 and the county examiners get $10 for each view, $25 for assisting at an autopsy and a fee for testifying in court as professional witness.

When persons appear to have met death from violence, or suddenly when in apparent good health or when unattended by a physician, or in any suspicious or unnatural manner, or as the result of an abortion or suspected abortion, the attending physician, law enforcement officer, undertaker or hospital, or any other person having responsibility for burial or cremation, must notify the county medical examiner who shall view the body and take charge.

If he deems further examination necessary he shall notify the chief medical examiner who, after being authorized in writing by the attorney general, shall make an autopsy with the assistance of the county medical examiner in the presence of two or more discreet persons as witnesses. If the findings suggest crime, they are to be given to the attorney general and the police. A medical examiner must also ascertain the cause of deaths in prison.

The bill was passed at the instance of the Rhode Island Medical Society and the Rhode Island Bar Association for the purpose of centralizing autopsy work enough to develop expertness of practice in searching for post-mortem evidence of crime.

The new setup replaces 30 local medical examiners appointed by the governor. Coroners, chosen by town councils prior to 1939, were abolished in that year.

Thus Rhode Island follows Massachusetts, Maryland and Virginia in setting up modern statewide medical examiner systems to make expert central service available to prosecutors and police anywhere within the state.

R. S. C.

Interstate Cooperation Marks Advances

The principle of cooperation between states continues to make progress, several examples of which have been noted by the Council of State Governments in the June issue of *State Government*.

The governors of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, comprising the New England Governors' Conference, have made public a proposed interstate compact that would establish a New England Development Authority when ratified by the six states and approved by Congress. The authority would be composed of commissioners from each of the six states and would seek expansion of industry and development of natural resources on a regional basis. It would be authorized to spend approximately $2,000,000 in the next ten

years, each state to contribute on a population basis.

The entire interstate program of the New York Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Cooperation was approved by New York's legislature and governor. One such measure will make New York a signatory to the New England Water Pollution Control Compact. A second pledges New York, acting jointly with New Jersey and Pennsylvania, to a comprehensive survey of water resources of the Delaware River basin. A third contemplates creation of an interstate agency for development of the Lake Champlain basin. A fourth authorizes New York to join the Northeastern Forest Fire Control Compact. A fifth establishes civil machinery under which fugitive husbands would be required to support their dependents.

Members of the Nevada and California Commissions on Interstate Cooperation are considering interstate problems involved in the Lake Tahoe scenic and resort area, including public health, stream pollution, conservation, taxation and related fields.

California Adopts Punch Card Ballot

According to *State Government*, California has adopted a form of ballot on which each vote is indicated by punching or marking one or more cards, which can be sorted and counted by automatic devices. The cards are stated to have been designed by Secretary of State Frank M. Jordan, with the object of preventing erroneous and fraudulent counting and speeding the determination of election results.

Each voter, upon receiving a ballot, indicates his choices by punching a hole in the space provided opposite the name of the desired candidate or measure. The ballot is then cast in the same manner as ballots previously used. However, upon closing of the polls, the precinct election board delivers the locked ballot boxes to a central counting place. All proceedings there are open to public scrutiny as the boxes are unlocked and emptied and the ballots are tabulated by mechanical devices.

Michigan Abolishes 'One Man' Grand Jury

The so-called "one man" grand jury, established in Michigan in 1917 to facilitate investigation of indicated law violations, has been abolished by the state legislature.

The law as now revised provides for a three-judge grand jury, abolishes immunity provisions which had permitted informants to go free if they reported on colleagues in crime, and seeks to prevent the "smearing" of a person's reputation.

Constitutional Amendments Proposed in Colorado

The Colorado legislature has approved two proposed constitutional amendments for submission to popular vote in November 1950. One would require the legislature to meet every year, but in even numbered years action would be restricted to bills concerning revenues and appropriations or other subjects specially designated by the governor. Legislative vacancies, now filled by election, would be filled in a manner prescribed by the legislature. Other changes include abolition of the fifteen-day limit on introduction of bills.

The second proposed amendment would permit Denver and other home rule cities to determine by ordinance the salaries of all officers outside the classified civil service; the salaries of elected officials to remain constant for the elective term. The city council of any home rule city would also be

permitted to submit any measure, charter amendment or the question of whether a charter convention should be called, to popular vote on its own initiative, without an initiated petition which is now the sole method of submitting charter amendments and convention calls. Such petitions could still be used, however.

State-Local Employees Total Record Number

According to recent Census Bureau data, employment by states, cities, counties and school districts reached a record high of 3,994,000 in January. Postwar growth of cities, population increase of the entire nation and expanded state and local services are among the causes.

Municipal government alone accounted for 1,245,000 of those on the public payrolls—1,036,000 non-school employees and 209,000 school personnel.

The total of federal, state and local government employees was given as about 6,083,000. The all-time peak was about January 1945, when there were 6,604,000 people in public service.

Monthly payrolls of state and local governments increased to a record high of $808,300,000 in January. City payrolls were boosted $26,100,000 monthly, states $22,500,000 and counties and special school districts accounted for the remainder of the increase.

Non-school city employees' average monthly earnings in January were given as nearly $198, with $289 for city school employees.

Ohio Legislature Denies Support for City League

A bill to permit Ohio cities to pay dues to their own association has been defeated by the state legislature. The May *News Letter* of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, pointing out that every other major interest in the state has salaried representatives or lobbyists in Columbus to promote or watch legislation, says:

"Only the cities, unforeseen, unprovided-for stepchildren of a century-old state constitution, now representing the large mass of the state's population, are without duly authorized and functioning representatives.

"Persistently renewed attempts to correct this inequity by authorizing cities to contribute to their own watchdog organization have been thwarted in each new legislative session by a combination of hostile lobbyists working upon the rural members of the House of Representatives.

"A public utility official who is also president of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce was among those pulling the strings to defeat this year's bill, thus providing the curious spectacle of a representative of great and growing business using his influence to defeat legislation for the protection of the urban centers upon which virtually all business, and particularly the public utility business, depends for progress and prosperity."

Council Manager Plan Developments

Redlands, California, (population 14,324) has adopted the council-manager plan.

On June 7, by a vote of 373 to 331, **McCook, Nebraska,** (6,212) adopted the state's enabling act providing for the council-manager plan of government.

The village of **Wyoming, Ohio,** (4,466) approved a council-manager charter on June 7 by a vote of 472 to 63.

Buchanan, Michigan, (4,056) voted 414 to 399 to approve a council-manager charter at an election on May 24.

Oxford (3,991) and **Carolina Beach** (637), **North Carolina,** have voted to adopt the council-manager plan, the

state legislature having authorized referenda in each.

Hearne, Texas, (3,511) has adopted the council-manager plan.

Princess Anne, Maryland, (942) adopted a council-manager charter, previously passed by the legislature, by a vote of 138 to 48 on June 14.

The **New Hampshire** Senate on May 31 passed House-approved bills to place both the council-manager and the strong-mayor plans before the voters of **Concord** as charter revision proposals at the biennial city primary on October 11. The voters will also have the choice of retaining the present weak mayor charter.

A proposed referendum on the council-manager plan for **Manchester,** after passing the New Hampshire House of Representatives by a large majority, was killed in the Senate, sixteen to seven, on May 31. The Manchester senatorial delegation opposed the bill. At the same time the House defeated a council-manager referendum bill for **Nashua,** 176 to 161. It had been opposed by 21 Nashua Democratic representatives and favored by the three Republicans in the delegation.

A special referendum will be held in **Franklin, New Hampshire,** in October, on a full fledged council-manager charter. Franklin now has a manager superimposed on a mayor-council charter by virtue of the state enabling act.

The Plan E for **Boston** Committee has been continuing to collect signatures on its petition for a referendum on a council-manager-P.R. charter, despite the unfair opposition tactics which have thus far prevailed against it. Two court appeals from the discriminatory actions of the election commission are still pending.

Petitions seeking an election on the question of adopting Plan D (council-manager without P. R.) have been filed in **North Adams** and, **Springfield, Massachusetts.**

Chelsea, Massachusetts, will vote on adoption of the state's optional Plan E charter (council-manager with P. R.) at the November election. The city clerk has announced that a petition seeking the election is sufficient.

Proposals for a manager referendum in **New Haven** were submerged in the last minute rush of the closing days of the legislature. Passed by the House on June 7, the bill failed to come up for action in the Senate.

Special elections on the question of adopting the council-manager plan will be held in three New Jersey municipalities this month—**Passaic** on July 12 and **Bayonne** and **West New York** on July 19.

A proposed home rule charter for **Cumberland, Maryland,** passed by the 1949 legislature, was defeated at the polls on June 7 by a vote of 2,678 to 2,624.

A bill to provide the council-manager plan for **Takoma Park, Maryland,** met defeat in the state legislature.

The U. S. Senate has passed a home rule bill for Washington, D. C. It provides the manager plan with a council of eleven which will appoint a manager. Nine councilmen will be elected by the voters; two will be named by the president and confirmed by the Senate. President Truman has indicated he will sign the bill, which must still be acted on by the House.

The cities of **Newton** and **Cherryville, North Carolina,** have secured legislation authorizing local elections on the question of adopting the council-manager plan.

Ahoskie, North Carolina, voted against adoption of the council-manager plan.

A petition has been circulated in **Gaffney, South Carolina,** asking a vote on the manager plan. The present city council, elected last year, is anti-man-

ager. Three former mayors are among the petition signers.

The city council of **Cincinnati, Ohio,** has unanimously authorized a commission to study the present council-manager charter, which was adopted in 1924 and amended in 1926. Subjects for study are reported to include methods of filling council vacancies and of preventing a possible deadlock in the selection of the mayor, increased salaries for councilmen, and the status of independent boards.

Petitions for recall of Mayor George W. Welsh of **Grand Rapids, Michigan,**[1] were filed with the city clerk on June 3. They contained over 26,000 names, reported to be more than twice as many as the number of votes for Mr. Welsh at his last election.

Seven charges were made against the mayor, the first three being: "(1) He illegally and by prior understanding acted in concert with City Commissioners Wagemaker, Richards and Haraburda to violate the city charter by attempting to induce City Manager Goebel to violate his charter duty and to appoint as city assessor a man they knew Goebel did not consider qualified; (2) He and said commissioners attempted to usurp the charter duty of the manager and threatened his discharge unless he appointed as assessor only the man of their choice; (3) He voted with said commissioners to dismiss Manager Goebel without preferring charges, without a hearing, without properly rescinding his employment contract, upon the sole basis that Goebel performed his charter duty and appointed a qualified city assessor."

On June 6 a largely similar petition for recall of Commissioner L. A. Wagemaker was filed, containing approximately 2,000 more signatures than the 5,626 votes received by him in 1948. On the same day the city commission, by a vote of four to three, ordered the city attorney to "investigate" the recall petitions and authorized him to subpoena witnesses, hire special counsel and report back to the commission. The mayor assailed the press and Chairman J. H. Amberg of Citizens Action, the group fostering the recall movement.

On page 237 of the May REVIEW it was erroneously reported that **Gaylord, Michigan,** voted on April 5 to adopt the provisions of a state optional council-manager charter law. Gaylord adopted a home rule charter with an optional provision for a city manager; it can thus not be considered a manager city unless and until it makes use of this provision.

A bill allowing **Illinois** municipalities other than Chicago to adopt the manager plan has been unanimously approved by the House municipalities committee.

Petitions seeking adoption of the council-manager plan by referendum have been circulated in **Hastings, Nebraska,** following removal of most of the city department heads from the provisions of the civil service ordinance at the request of the mayor.

Chadron, Nebraska, will vote July 12 on adoption of the council-manager plan.

Two studies on forms of government have been presented to the **Shreveport, Louisiana,** charter commission. One, by two lay members of the commission, outlines the advantages of the council-manager plan; the other, by the city's representatives on the commission—commissioner of finance and city attorney—reports on the city's ex-

[1]See the June REVIEW, page 291.

isting commission government and offers criticisms of the manager plan.

The voters of **Edinburg, Texas,** (which adopted the manager plan by ordinance in 1946) approved a home rule commission-manager charter at the April election. A commission of five, one of them the mayor, appoints the manager.

Voters of **El Paso, Texas,** are interested in securing the council-manager plan.

A charter is being drafted for **Alice, Texas,** and the manager plan is under consideration.

Civic groups in **Twin Falls, Idaho,** are working for adoption of the council-manager plan. In **Sandpoint, Idaho,** the chamber of commerce is planning to obtain a vote on the plan before mid-summer. Idaho at present has no council-manager municipality.

The **Utah** legislature has adopted a city manager enabling act, sponsored by the Utah Municipal League; it was signed by the governor on March 2, 1949. It authorizes the city council or board of trustees of any city or town to appoint a city manager, with the power of hiring and discharging city employees; other powers and duties are to be specified by ordinance.

In **San Leandro, California,** a board of freeholders is revising that city's council-manager charter. Louis H. Burke is acting as consultant. The revision will be voted on some time in September. The present charter, it is said, lacks a clear-cut division of responsibility between the council and the manager.

Mayor Harry Jumper of **Azusa, California,** has recommended that his city employ a business manager. In **Daly City, California,** Mayor J. P. Green has announced that consideration is being given to the manager plan.

The city council of **Coos Bay, Oregon,** has conferred full managerial powers on the city manager by ordinance. Charter amendments adopted at the polls in September 1948 had taken such powers, prescribed in the 1945 charter, from the manager but gave the council power to confer them.

Florida managers held their third annual short course of training May 6-8, attended by 25; they also held their annual meeting at the same time. **Maine, Ohio, Oklahoma, Texas** and **Pennsylvania** managers also held annual or seasonal meetings in May, attended by 35, 15, 21, 56 and 18, respectively.

Statistics compiled by the International City Managers' Association show that of the 241 city managers appointed in 1948, 188—or 78 per cent—had previous public administrative experience. Nearly one-third of those hired had previously been city managers of other cities. The 77 cities that made city manager appointments for the first time last year chose 30 men with previous manager experience, 37 from other city posts, five from private industry, and two from state engineering departments.

More than half the total managers appointed in 1948 were non-residents at the time of appointment, 51 being managers moving to larger cities.

At the end of 1948 there were 892 cities and counties which were operating under the manager plan or in which it becomes effective during 1949 and 1950. Thus far this year there have been 42 adoptions of the plan.

Maine leads all other states with 103 managers, Michigan has 74, Texas 73, California 68, and Florida and Virginia 53 each.

Philadelphia Grand Jury Accuses Two City Departments

A year's investigation by a special grand jury in Philadelphia was con-

cluded with presentments on May 27 against the director of supplies and purchases and the receiver of taxes. Charges of thievery were also made against the Water Bureau's distribution and maintenance forces.

One major recommendation was the creation of a "court of accountability," representing the citizens at large, to which department heads, bureau chiefs, etc., would periodically report.

Organized Municipal Employees Increase

A survey of personnel practices of the 1,077 cities over 10,000 population, by the International City Managers' Association, reveals that 322 cities have one or more local unions of municipal employees affiliated with national AFL or CIO public employees' unions. Among these cities are 89 of the 92 cities with populations over 100,000. Officials from 559 cities reported that their cities had no such union: nineteen reports asserted that the employees were forbidden to join such unions, 478 indicated there was no restriction on union affiliation of municipal employees, and the remaining 62 cities without unions did not reply to this question.

Strikes of some or all municipal employees during 1948 were reported by 21 cities, including Los Angeles, Denver, Buffalo, Madison, Gary (Indiana), and Austin (Minnesota).

Five years ago, 104 cities reported that they had local employee groups not affiliated with the AFL or CIO. By October 1948 the number of cities with non-affiliated locals totaled 190.

In this same period the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL) grew from a reported 201 cities to 286. The number of cities with locals of the International Association of Fire Fighters (AFL) increased from 435 to 560 during the last five years.

Philadelphia Port Authority Idea Weakened

The bill to establish a port authority for the Philadelphia area was seriously weakened in the closing hours of the 1949 session of the Pennsylvania legislature. According to the *News Letter* of the Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning, "Although the original port authority bill had been agreed upon by the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the New Jersey legislature had passed the bill, and the Pennsylvania lower house had passed the bill, the State Senate saw fit to accept amendments dictated by railroad and other lobbyists, as reported openly in the press.

"The original bill provided for completely coordinated port development, including integrated truck, rail and other terminal facilities, as well as bridges, transit lines and tunnels. The accepted amendments restrict the activities of the port authority to bridges, wharves, piers and other marine facilities, and provide further that any major undertaking be approved by the legislature (which meets only every two years) rather than by the governor as originally proposed. . . .

"The Citizens' Council on City Planning advocated establishment of the port authority to make possible a comprehensive development of coordinated port and terminal facilities for land, sea and air on a regional basis. It held a large delegates' meeting a year ago at which the port authority problem was presented."

County and Township . . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Press Recommends City-County Mergers

Efficiency, Savings Seen in Elimination of Duplication

CITY-COUNTY consolidation is continuing to be discussed in various urban areas.

The Houston, Texas, *Post* has called for consolidation of Houston and Harris County. The *Post* declares editorially: "Why have all the duplicated expense and effort, and all the conflicts of two overlapping governments, when one could do the job better? . . . Sooner or later the big cities and counties are bound to do away with the inefficiency, extravagance and waste of the duplicated governments in metropolitan counties, where for all practical purposes the city is co-extensive with the counties.

"It will come when smart candidates see the vote-getting possibilities of such a movement and have the enterprise and vigor to carry it through; or when some strong city or county leader conceives the idea of crowning his political career and leaving a towering monument to his statesmanship by taking hold of the city-county merger case and putting it over. That day will be a blessed one."

In Fort Worth city officials are fighting doggedly for an interpretation of the county home rule provisions of the constitution because, as the city attorney stated in one heated exchange, "I don't consider a merger of Fort Worth and Tarrant County offices as trifling."

The Salt Lake City *Telegram* advocates merger of the city with Salt Lake County as preferable to separation of city and county. Pointing to St. Louis and San Francisco as being in "geographical strait-jackets," the *Telegram* declares that city-county consolidation will enable the entire metropolitan area to grow and develop "economically, efficiently and unitedly."

The Minneapolis *Star* has gone on record opposing the bill introduced in the state legislature to separate Minneapolis from Hennepin County. Proponents of the bill have argued that it would provide simplified government, but the *Star* believes, "The city and its adjacent area have so many problems in common that merger seems far more sensible. That, too, would give the economy of one set of local officials."

In Georgia, the Atlanta and Fulton County merger has hit a stalemate because legislative representatives of Fulton and DeKalb Counties cannot reach an agreement on the form of the proposed constitutional amendment.

The Macon *Telegraph* recalls that an amendment permitting the consolidation of Dougherty County and Albany was vetoed by Governor Talmadge, probably illegally, and that the Macon and Bibb County consolidation proposal was defeated at the polls. However, it comments, "We still believe that great economy could be brought about with an increased efficiency if there were a consolidation of most of the city and county functions."

City-county consolidation in certain functional fields also is advancing. The health department of Tulsa County, Oklahoma, has been consolidated with that of Tulsa. Furthermore, the Tulsa Chamber of Commerce has appointed a special subcommittee to study further functional consolidation of city and county offices.

The Minnesota legislature has enact-

ed legislation authorizing any city with more than 100,000 population to combine its health department with that of the county in which it lies. Another new Minnesota law enlarges county powers and authorizes them to enter into contracts with cities or other governmental agencies for the conduct of park and recreational programs.

County Health Consolidation Adopted

A proposal to consolidate the two county health departments of Butler and Greenwood Counties, Kansas, has been approved and the new consolidated department becomes the first two-county unit in Kansas. Costs will be assessed to each county on a per capita basis. Meetings of the governing officials will be held alternately at the two county seats. It is anticipated that the department will be expanded by the addition of five new employees.

In Minnesota two or more counties may consolidate their health departments under 1949 legislation (chapter 405). This law also permits city-county health consolidation (see page 348). The latter requires approval of the governing bodies only, but where two or more counties are involved a popular referendum must be held. County health consolidation may be initiated by the governing boards or by petition of 10 per cent of the voters. Cities of the first and second classes may not be brought within a consolidated health department except upon approval of the voters.

The boards of health of the combined departments will be appointed by the county commissioners. If two or more counties combine each will appoint two members except that the county with the largest population will appoint three. One member from each county must be selected from within the largest participating municipality. Costs are distributed among the counties on the basis of population.

County Manager Plan Developments

The Oklahoma State Legislative Council has recommended legislation providing for the county manager plan of government. The Tulsa Chamber of Commerce subsequently appointed subcommittees to study the advantages and disadvantages of such a plan for Tulsa County as well as to study personnel work, public relations, methods and systems and all other aspects of county government operations.

In St. Lawrence County, New York, the chairman of the board of supervisors has stated publicly that the manager plan might be the solution to the problems arising from the growth of the county government. The Potsdam *Courier Freeman* advocates editorially the manager plan for Jefferson County, New York.

In Putnam County, New York, the County Real Estate Association has petitioned the board of supervisors to fix a date for a referendum on the manager plan, suggesting August 30. The association emphasizes that the manager form would eliminate overlapping in county administration. It believes that the eight independent police forces and the eight highway departments in the county could be consolidated into one and that "splinter departments" could be amalgamated into one body under direction of the manager.

Texas Debates Centralization vs. Home Rule

The Harrison County Commissioners Court recently criticized the flood of bills in the Texas state legislature, saying that the proposed legislation was making further inroads on "what little local self-government we have left."

The court formally adopted resolutions opposing five specific measures which would transfer tax revenues from the counties to the state, fix salaries of county officers, raise county salaries and increase the duties of the county tax officer in several respects.

The Citizens Association of Dallas County, now approximately a year old, is continuing its struggle for revision of the county home rule provisions of the constitution to enable the county to secure efficient government. *County Progress,* published by the County Judges and Commissioners' Association of Texas, declares that the Citizens Association's actions "have aroused the public's interest and curiosity about county government to a pitch not reached in many years."

San Diego County Makes Employee Survey

As part of a program for improving their services, the departments of San Diego County, California, have conducted an employee attitude survey, according to the Civil Service Assembly *Newsletter.* Tabulations revealed that employees believed job security and amount of pay were the two most important factors influencing employee attitudes. More than half the employees liked their jobs very much, liked their fellow employees, thought there was clear division of work and responsibility, and were proud to be identified with their respective departments. On the negative side, the greatest dissatisfaction—13.8 per cent—was because of inadequate recognition for work of superior quality.

Two-Term Limit in Kansas Attacked Again

County treasurers and sheriffs in Kansas are seeking again to secure a change in the provision of the Kansas state constitution limiting them to no more than two consecutive terms. They point to the required annual audits and other safeguards as proof that restrictions on the number of consecutive terms are unnecessary. They assert that more technical skill is required now than formerly and that the constitutional provisions thus deny to public service the experience gained by officials in performing their duties.

Former attempts to change this provision, mostly by sheriffs, have failed in the legislature. In 1932, the attempted change was submitted to the people in a general election but it lost heavily.

Rural Carriers Urge Better County Roads

President Willard Manning of the National Rural Letter Carriers Association, writing in *Wisconsin Counties,* urges that counties extend their highway programs immediately in order to provide adequate rural roads. He points out that there are 32,484 rural mail carriers in America who travel approximately 1,500,000 miles per day. They serve 50,000,000 people, but they travel half of their routes on unsurfaced, dirt roads that are impassable for parts of every year. He urges that interrupted service and high unit costs of maintenance apply not only to the post office but also to milk trucks, school buses and vehicles of the farmers themselves.

Four reasons are given for the lag in providing all-weather, hard surfaced roads in rural areas: (1) County highway organizations are not properly staffed with competent engineers and equipment; (2) there are inadequate funds for the county secondary road programs; (3) state highway departments have failed to recognize the importance of the county highway organizations in road programs; and (4) inadequate attention has been paid to standards and specifications as they apply to county roads.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Brings Campus Peace

Fraternity and Other Groups Find System Gives Fair Play

EDITOR'S NOTE.—George Howatt, author of this article, is instructor in government at Lehigh University. While working for his bachelor's degree at Muhlenberg College he served as chairman of the constitutional revision committee referred to here. At Lehigh University, where he secured his master's degree, he was advisor to a similar committee.

DOES the Hare system of P. R. contribute to the solution of problems which confront student government on the college or university campus? Is the collegiate community a place where this electoral device is particularly appropriate?

Illustrative case studies are afforded by two examples: Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pennsylvania, which adopted the Hare system of P. R. in 1939 in a successful effort to end a persistent clash between fraternity and non-fraternity groups; Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where this system was incorporated in a new constitution which sought to renovate student government in 1947.

P. R. at Muhlenberg

For several years prior to the adoption of P. R. at Muhlenberg the student council was regularly dominated by fraternity members because each of these social groups was guaranteed one representative by the constitution while non-fraternity representation was dependent on the size of the enrollment of non-fraternity students.

For years fraternity voters in class elections and in other plurality contests almost invariably took all the offices by presenting a caucus-chosen slate against an unorganized non-fraternal opposition. The non-fraternal students eventually reacted by adopting tactics similar to those of their opposition who now, being fewer in number, met defeat as regularly as they formerly had triumphed.

As the animosity between the two groups grew more bitter, the need for revision of the constitution of the student body became urgent.

It was felt that the old constitution contributed to the unrest by arbitrarily dividing the campus into two groups for the purpose of choosing the council. One reason for creating this division seems to have been the desire to prevent either one from completely monopolizing council positions. This probably would have occurred if general ticket voting had been used in the annual campus-wide contest since general ticket voting usually results in giving all the seats to the winning group.

To guard against this fault the lesser evil of marking off election constituencies—fraternal and non-fraternal—was accepted. But the original apportionment in the constitution was upset as the respective sizes of the two groups altered during the years. Why should the fraternities relinquish the gerrymandered representation assured them? Why should the non-fraternity students, now numerically larger, not press for adoption of general ticket voting, which would give them predominance?

At this stage a committee was appointed to study constitutional revision. A major task was to provide some means of removing the arbitrary demarcation forced by the constitution

and yet retain means for the representation of those groups large enough to deserve it. The solution was adoption of the Hare system of P. R.

The clash between the fraternal and non-fraternal groups dissipated almost completely, and it has not recurred during the ensuing ten years. Advocates of electoral reform on the Muhlenberg campus in 1939, as on the Lehigh campus in 1947, stressed the value of campus unity in accordance with the principle: the college or university first, the living group second.

P. R. at Lehigh

Before the institution of P. R. on the Lehigh campus members of the student governing body were chosen by appointment from each of a selected number of honorary societies and activity groups, later expanded to include class and living group organizations.

As veterans swelled the ranks of dormitory and town (off-campus) students, great resentment arose over the existing mode of choosing the governing body. The social fraternities, which constituted a minority of about one-third of the enrollment, were able to dominate the council because they controlled most of the organizations which furnished its members.

Some leaders of the dormitory-town students, who constituted the other two-thirds of the campus registration, now wished to rewrite the constitution establishing a system which would assure predominance for themselves. Countering them were leaders of the fraternity group who, benefiting from the status quo, wished to retain the appointive council.

At this impasse the use of the Hare system was advocated. Advancing the slogan "Use P. R. and Let the Voters Decide" how the seats of the council shall be apportioned, a sufficient number of supporters rallied behind P. R. to win its adoption in a newly drafted constitution.

During the drafting process many deliberative hearings were conducted and numerous proposals were considered.

The ward plan was discarded at an early stage because of the usual difficulties presented by the district method of choosing representatives. Should the districts be geographical, curricular or according to classes? If geographical, where should the division lines be drawn? What means should be provided to prevent gerrymandering?

Moreover, the restrictiveness of the ward system contrasted too unfavorably, in the mind of the interested and thoughtful student, with the prospect of the freedom to make effective choices from among all the candidates by means of the preferential, transferable ballot of the Hare plan. Furthermore, the ideal of campus unity—loyalty first to the university and second to one's living group or class organization—seemed to be violated by such a system.

Incidently, in Lehigh's three P. R. elections there have been three instances in which two representatives were chosen from either the same dormitory section or the same fraternity house—a privilege denied to the voters under a single-member district system.

What would have been the probable result had the general ticket system of voting been used in Lehigh's first campus-wide election instead of P. R.?

The number of registered voters from the three living groups was: fraternity 811; town, 755; dorm, 467. Under a general ticket system, with the fraternity voters supporting a common slate, as they are more likely to do than the other groups, the almost certain result would have been a clean sweep of all the council seats by fraternity supporters. In response, the

own-dorm group would probably have nited behind a joint ticket at the ext election. Numerically larger, they ndoubtedly would have captured very seat.

Thus the winner-takes-all election ystem sows the seeds and furnishes he sustenance of permanent campus arfare, which is common in many olleges and universities today.

Since the adoption of P. R. at Lehigh n 1947 animosity between the living roups has steadily declined, and voting in accordance with living group ffiliation has continually decreased. n the 1949 elections, for instance, although fraternity members constituted nly 41 per cent of the voters, fraternity nominees obtained 60 per cent of the ouncil positions. Had town or dorm oters not chosen to support fraternity andidates, fraternity candidates could ot, under P. R., have received much nore than 41 per cent of the seats.

Resentment among the living groups o longer prevails because the members f the respective groups know they can ontrol their proportionate share of the epresentation if they want to.

The following statistics on the first hree P. R. elections at Lehigh University may be of interest:

	1947	1948	1949
Valid ballots	2,030	1,647	1,589
Invalid ballots	3	9	0
Percentage of ballots effective	91.8	94.8	92.0
Percentage of ballots on which first choice was elected	56.8	69.4	61.4
Percentage of ballots which never had to be transferred	54.5	68.8	58.3

Of the 126 exhausted ballots in the 1949 election, all but 24 were marked for winning candidates. Thus 98.5 per cent of the voters saw someone elected for whom they voted.

The mechanics of the system have presented no problems which were not easily handled. In each of the last two elections the counting process, including keeping a detailed tally sheet and recording all transfer steps on the ballots concerned, was completed by a largely inexperienced staff of eight to ten persons in approximately two and a half hours.

Judged on the basis of experience at Muhlenberg and Lehigh, the Hare system of P. R. seems ideally suited to meet the problems of representation in college and university elections.

GEORGE HOWATT

Trieste Holds Municipal Elections by P. R.

A list system of proportional representation, similar to that of Italy, was used in the June 13 elections in Trieste. The Christian Democratic party—the majority party in Italy—obtained 41 per cent of the vote. Other parties having similar policies polled 14 per cent, indicating a working majority for this group.

On the question of the return of Trieste to Italy, the election was even more decisive. The parties which had declared themselves in favor of such a step, including the Christian Democratic party and its allies, obtained 65 per cent of the vote.

The orthodox Communist party obtained 20 per cent and the "Friends of Tito's Communism" but 2 per cent in the first electoral contest involving these two factions. According to the New York *Herald Tribune,* the total vote of all "Communists and alleged Communists" amounted to 30 per cent and the vote for professedly non-Communist supporters of the free city status was 13 per cent.

Twelve parties contested the election but only two received more than 6 per cent; five polled 3 per cent or less.

Taxation and Finance . . . . Edited by Wade S. Smith

Pennsylvania Curtails Local Taxing Powers

Amends Its Act 481 to Limit Amount of Taxes Collected

THE by now well known Act 481 of the 1947 Pennsylvania legislature, conferring on local governments power to impose about every kind of tax not imposed by the commonwealth, has been amended by the 1949 legislature. The amendments in part provide for a streamlining of procedural matters and in part curtail or limit some of the powers previously granted the local units.

The former act had limited the aggregate amount of taxes which could be collected under its provisions in any unit to an amount equal to the product of its assessed valuation multiplied by the maximum legal tax rate.

The act as amended restricts the aggregate receipts in a unit to an amount equal to that which would be produced by a property tax rate of ten mills in cities, boroughs, towns and townships and of fifteen mills in school districts. Taxes on public utility services, taxes on manufactured goods, severance taxes and salary and wage taxes by school districts are all specifically prohibited by the amended act. Cities, towns, etc., may still levy salary and wage taxes, but the rate may not exceed one per cent, and maximum rates are established for various other types of taxes: sales 2 per cent, per capita $10, admissions 10 per cent, etc.

Under the original act there had been at times considerable difficulty in ironing out procedural matters when two overlapping units attempted to impose the same kind of tax. The new act provides generally that in such instances the rate of such duplicate tax shall be divided equally between each unit, unless the units mutually agree to some other distribution such that the combined rate does not exceed the maximum.

The amended act also provides specifically for agreements for the joint collection of taxes by two or more local units and the appointment of a single person or agency as the collector.

Sales Tax in 122 California Cities

At January 1, 1949, there were 122 California cities imposing local sales taxes, with anticipated receipts of nearly $27,900,000 during the fiscal year 1948-49, according to a study of the California State Board of Equalization, *More City Sales Taxes.*[1]

Prior to June 30, 1946, only four cities in the state collected a sales tax and total revenues in that fiscal year amounted to less than $900,000. In 1946-47, 61 cities collected $13,970,000 while in 1947-48, 94 cities collected $23,052,850. According to the state board, there remain only six cities of over 25,000 population which have not enacted sales taxes.

One hundred of the cities having sales taxes at the beginning of the current calendar year imposed taxes at a rate of one-half of one per cent while a one per cent rate was in effect in 22 cities. The sales tax roster includes all the large cities except Long Beach. Los Angeles adopted its tax effective May 11, 1946; San Diego July

[1]Division of Research and Statistics Sacramento. 20 pp. Supplement to *City Sales Taxes in California.*

1, 1946; Oakland October 1, 1946; and San Francisco October 1, 1947, to mention the larger cities, each with a rate of one-half of one per cent.

The equalization board notes that some administrative problems appear with considerable frequency. Most often mentioned by city officials are difficulties arising from intercity sales. Almost all the cities appear to have exempted sales on shipments out of the city, but trouble is encountered in collection of taxes on shipments into the city from neighboring municipalities, especially in cities in Los Angeles County. Another problem is that of collecting from businesses which are sold, closed or operated by itinerants. A few cities require deposits or the posting of bonds by itinerants, but small operators who go out of business without filing final returns cause considerable tax loss.

Aid to Cities Increased by Eight States

This year eight legislatures have passed laws giving cities larger shares of state taxes, according to the American Municipal Association.

The Arkansas legislature appropriated $2,800,000 to the municipal aid fund for the remainder of the fiscal year and provided for an annual appropriation of $3,000,000, nearly double the previous allotment.

In Indiana, the cities' share of state motor user taxes has been boosted to 15 per cent. It is estimated this action will bring Indiana municipalities $8,000,000 annually or about twice the amount previously received from this source. In recent court action the cities' claims relating to these taxes were upheld by the Marion County Superior Court.

Kansas counties and cities will receive an estimated $1,000,000 from the 2 per cent liquor enforcement tax levied by the legislature. Counties will keep half the money they receive and allocate the remainder among cities on a population basis.

Montana adopted the first tax-sharing measure in its history when the legislature set aside 6 per cent of gross liquor revenues collected in state liquor stores for allocation to cities, towns and counties. During 1949 its local governments are expected to get $1,000,000 from this source.

New legislation in Oregon increases the state gasoline tax to six cents and raises fees on motor vehicles. Cities will get 10 per cent of collections. State-collected liquor license fees were boosted also and the city-county share raised to give cities an estimated $120,000 more annually.

South Dakota municipalities will receive 10 per cent of all motor vehicle license fees under a new law which revises the licensing method so that the total revenue is increased 40 per cent. Cities and towns had not previously received any of this state income. Funds will be distributed by the county treasurer on a mileage basis.

Local shares of state collected auto license fees in Utah have been boosted so that an additional $772,383 will be divided among cities, towns and counties. Total allocation for the year is $2,272,383 — approximately $4.53 per capita.

In the state of Washington, the legislature acted to permit the State Highway Department to construct and maintain all state primary and secondary highways and bridges within cities and towns. The state gasoline tax was raised to cover the expenditure of $5,000,000 annually of state money on city streets. This is in addition to the $4,000,000 the cities now receive yearly from the gasoline tax.

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

North Jersey Cities Organize for Planning

Passaic Area Seeks Much Needed Improvement Program

FORMATION of neighborhood citizens' councils is one objective of the newly organized **Passaic-Bergen Community Planning Association,** which covers one of the large metropolitan areas in northern New Jersey adjacent to New York City. The first of such councils is that for Passaic's east side. It was organized at a meeting attended by nearly two hundred representative citizens of the neighborhood.

Albert F. Metz, president of the Community Planning Association, and District Court Judge Stanley J. Polack, who presided as temporary chairman of the new citizens' council, outlined the redevelopment project, listing as its main objectives "replacement of substandard dwellings with adequate housing, solution of traffic and parking problems, provision of educational, recreational and cultural facilities and modernization of the shopping district." They emphasized local citizen participation in the development of a plan and in efforts to achieve its realization.

Mr. Metz outlined the background of the Community Planning Association and its objectives, listing as the two basic elements of good planning: (1) active support of the citizens and (2) a technical staff.

Representatives of local churches, social service, veterans, merchants and labor groups strongly supported the proposals.

The meeting went on record as formally constituting itself the **Citizens' Council of the Passaic Redevelopment Project,** a division of the Passaic-Bergen Community Planning Association, and a committee was appointed to prepare a slate of nominees for permanent officers. Nearly a thousand application cards for membership were taken by persons who volunteered to enroll friends and neighbors.

Civic Activity in Planning Continues

Called by its president, Major General U. S. Grant III, and Oklahoma's Governor Roy J. Turner, the **National Citizens Conference on Community Planning** was held in Oklahoma City March 27-30. The conference is one of the activities of the **American Planning and Civic Association.** Local sponsoring organizations included the **Oklahoma City Citizens Planning Association** and **Chamber of Commerce** and the city's planning commission and planning and resources board.

The program offered a discussion of many problems affecting community operation and growth of both urban and rural areas: traffic conditions and controls, benefits of planning to business through improved tax structure and better community facilities, control of land use and developments outside corporate limits to provide for attractive and orderly growth, rebuilding under recent urban redevelopment laws, waste of public money by failure of communities to anticipate future needs and citizen participation in making and carrying out plans. One session was devoted especially to the need for planning in towns under 10,000 population.

Among the speakers and program leaders were: Major General Lewis

A. Pick, chief of the Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army; Flavel Shurtleff, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Mayor A. P. Kaufmann of St. Louis where a $63,000,000 postwar program for city improvements is under way; Major General Philip B. Fleming, administrator of federal works; and Harland Bartholomew of St. Louis, nationally prominent planner.

The **Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning** conducted a panel discussion on regional planning led by Miss Jacqueline Tyrwhitt of England, director of research of the Association for Regional Planning and Reconstruction in London, now lecturing at the New School for Social Research in New York. Miss Tyrwhitt's opening talk "touched off a rich discussion of the problems of metropolitan Philadelphia," comments the *News Letter* of the council, "the flight to the suburbs, the decay of the central city, the need for organizing means of metropolitan planning, housing and development, regional location of industry and the kind of metropolitan planning suitable and desirable for this area, and the need for citizen activity dealing with regional problems."

The annual meeting of the **Toledo Regional Planning Association** heard Walter S. Schmidt, leader in Cincinnati civic affairs and past president and founder of the Urban Land Institute. The topic was "Industrial Considerations in City and Regional Planning."

The **Louisville Area Development Association** has published *Louisville—Five Years of Development, 1943-1948* (21 pages), which "outlines the growth of the Louisville area since 1943 and attempts to show the part the association has played in its growth and development."

The **Rural Planning Association of Allen County, Indiana,** is made up of citizens interested in county planning and zoning. Its aim is to assist individuals and committees in the townships and residential communities on local needs. Vice presidents of the association are working in specific sections of the county in the general vicinity of their homes. Among the association's projects are a master plan, creation of citizen interest and bettering of community relations. Transportation, land use and zoning, utilities, schools and many other projects are receiving attention.

Thirty Problems for Metropolitan Fort Wayne (six pages), issued by the **Fort Wayne (Indiana) Civic Association,** seeks the cooperation of city, county, business and other interests in the solution of such problems as traffic congestion, smoke abatement, blighted areas and water supply. Stressed is the need for a master plan for both city and county.

Use New Patterns

The **Regional Plan Association,** covering the New Jersey, New York and Connecticut metropolitan region, has two new publications. Its April *Regional Plan Bulletin* is devoted to "Recent Housing Trends," and notes that new housing in the area has accommodated less than half the increase in families since 1940 despite fast developing residential areas around the region's seven most populated cities.

Rebuilding Without Congestion, a Policy for Central City Development (eight pages) is a formal statement of policy on rebuilding New York, Newark, Bridgeport, Jersey City, Elizabeth, Paterson and Yonkers. It urges care against creating "a regimented and institutional appearance," in redeveloping the older centers. "Even as we should avoid building new areas in the suburbs with the congenital defects of the older centers," says Paul

Windels, president of the Regional Plan Association, "so we must break the vicious circle of rebuilding today's blighted central areas in yesterday's patterns and densities."

The **Citizens Planning and Construction Council of Illinois** is urging creation of a permanent, adequately financed state planning and development commission to take the place of the present Illinois Postwar Planning Commission and the Illinois Development Council, says R. Ron Henrekin, its president. The recommendation is in a report by the council's legislative committee, made after "careful study of planning and development programs . . . in other states."

Citizen activities in planning are reported by the Tennessee State Planning Commission in *The Tennessee Planner*. The **Knoxville Council of Civic Clubs,** composed of ten leading civic organizations, is bringing to a close its project of securing a "multimillion dollar civic auditorium." A committee for the council, organized to determine what project would benefit Knoxville most, selected an auditorium. A later committee set forth its size and uses and, finally, the civic center committee was appointed to get active planning under way. This committee recommends that the voters be asked to decide whether such a project should be launched at this time. If they approve, the city council will appoint an auditorium board and provide funds for a site planner and architect.

The Lawrenceburg (Tennessee) Planning Commission, finding that population figures and land use data were not up to date, asked the **Lioness Club** to make a survey as one of its community improvement projects. The ladies visited every home in the city, securing census data and entering the home location on a map. "The survey will prove of benefit not only to the city as a whole but to the individual organizations as well," reports the *Planner*.

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Cleanup Campaigns

In a resolution adopted April 5 the Pennsylvania House of Representatives congratulated the **Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning,** the City Planning Commission and others for their contribution to a project known as "Yardville"—the clean-up and beautification of the yards of one of Philadelphia's older neighborhoods. The movement has led to the formation of a **Philadelphia Yardville Committee** and now a national **Yardville Committee.** The Citizens' Council has been conducting a local Yardville contest with eleven awards ranging from $500 for first prize down.

Charles A. Phelps, former state senator, was the principal speaker at the "kick-off" meeting in **Woodburn, Indiana,** for "Clean-up Week." "The energy of this small community of 500 people in civic matters is remarkable," reports the *News Letter* of the **Fort Wayne Civic Association.** "Supporting ten clubs and organizations, buying a city park out of private funds, promoting civic projects which net substantial sums of money and organizing a clean-up week to stimulate the surrounding county area are not only inspiring to its own citizens but establish leadership in civic promotion for the entire county."

The **Fort Wayne (Indiana) Junior Chamber of Commerce** conducted a "Clean Up, Paint Up, and Fix Up" campaign this spring.

The **Central Atlanta Improvement Association** has been cooperating with the **Women's Chamber of Commerce** in its annual "Clean Up, Paint Up, Fire Prevention Drive."

With the Civic Groups

The **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy** has recently issued "The Forty-fourth Annual Report of the Committee of Seventy to Its Contributors, Friends and Others Interested in Raising the Standards of Citizenship, Government and Politics in the City of Philadelphia." . . .

Direct election of party district leaders in all parties and in all boroughs is favored by the **Citizens Union of New York City.** "It will be a substantial step forward in making the parties a proper channel for popular expression when the people throughout the city can elect their own party leaders simply and directly," says a news release by George H. Hallett, Jr., the union's secretary. . . .

The **Good Government League of Hamilton County** (Cincinnati) arranged a public hearing "to give citizens and organizations an opportunity to express their views on pending legislation to their representatives without the necessity of traveling to Columbus." Local senators and representatives were invited to attend. Spokesmen of over twenty organizations presented their views on urban redevelopment, public housing enabling act, reduction of the percentage of votes necessary for passage of bond issues, equalization of property valuations throughout the state for taxing purposes, aid to expressways and highways, use of the revenue from the Southern Railroad for major improvements, and distribution of sales tax revenue to cities. . . .

"Home Work for Good Citizens" is the headline to a plea by the **Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce** that citizens give their views on controversial measures before the legislature to their senators and representatives. The chamber, in its *Goings-on-at-the-State Capitol,* listed a number of bills on which public hearings were scheduled.

Court Supports Citizens

The Appellate Division of the Superior Court of New Jersey has sustained the judgment of a lower court that citizens and taxpayers have a right to inspect public records. The question arose in **Cape May,** where the board of commissioners announced a proposed increase in the city's tax rate. An auditor representing the local **Taxpayers Association** was permitted to examine municipal records but when he sought to have officers of the association aid him in non-technical matters, the city refused to grant them access to the records, whereupon the association brought suit.

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Anti-Pollution Council

Led by the **Rotary Club,** a number of Toledo organizations have formed the **Maumee Valley Anti-Pollution Council,** among them the **League of Women Voters, Toledo Safety Council, Chamber of Commerce** and **Parent-Teachers Association.** Although membership is limited to Toledo at present, the area of action is considered to be the entire Maumee Valley watershed, extending into Michigan. Purposes of the new organization are to stimulate interest in a bill before the Ohio legislature and, when that bill is passed, to conduct an educational program. The council is establishing a speakers bureau, a technical administration committee, and committees on membership, legal problems, public relations and health.

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New Political Party

More than two hundred local residents participated in the election of a seventeen-man executive board for the newly formed **Long Beach (New York) Good Government party.** Under the temporary chairmanship of Councilman Joseph Ross, the membership also approved a constitution and by-laws.

Purpose of the party, reports the *Long Island Independent,* is "to maintain economic and efficient government in the interest of all the people, by officials directly responsible to the voters, not subject to political control, and chosen on municipal, not state or national, issues."

* * *

New Organization

The **Citizens Good Government Organization of Hastings-on-Hudson, New York,** was organized in May at a meeting of some 50 local residents. Wilton Bentley, former village trustee, was elected chairman. Purpose of the new group is to consider village problems and to recommend and support candidates for local village offices. The organization meeting was addressed by Arthur Thexton, formerly of Cincinnati, on "Citizen Organization for Good Government."

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New Civic Publications

The Civic Education Project (fourteen pages), published by the **Educational Research Corporation** at Cambridge, describes the goals and the plan of operation of the project as it is being carried out under the direction of Dr. John J. Mahoney, formerly of Boston University, and Dr. Henry W. Holmes, formerly of Harvard University, aided by researchers and class room teachers.

Any Age—Any Talent, Children Can Think Constructively About Their Communities (eight pages), by Margaret Carroll, may be secured from the **Tennessee State Planning Commission,** Nashville. Children can plan, is its theme, illustrated with "junior class" drawings and penned comments.

The League and State Constitutional Revision (five pages, mimeographed) may be secured from the **National League of Women Voters** in Washington for five cents. Covered are the need for revision, convention or amendment, road blocks to revision, what revision takes, a program for the League of Women Voters and the league's fitness for the job.

Another publication of the **National League of Women Voters** is *A History of the League Program* (58 pages), prepared by Kathryn H. Stone. It discusses "how one thing led to another in the history of the League of Women Voters—a nonpartisan organization established in 1920 to encourage citizen participation in government."

Ninety Days of Lawmaking in Minnesota, published by the University of Minnesota Press at Minneapolis, was prepared by Barbara Stuhler, organization secretary of the **Minnesota League of Women Voters** and various consultants.

The **League of Women Voters of New York City** has its 1949 edition of *They Represent You in Washington, Albany, New York City* (30 pages) available at fifteen cents. A companion volume published by the **state league** (25 cents) covers all the state except New York City.

Both the **League of Women Voters of Georgia** and that of **Atlanta** have issued 1949 political directories listing city, county and state officials and much other information of value to the voter. The state group's pamphlet is ten cents, that of the city fifteen.

Let's Look at Ourselves—A Brief Guide for Conducting a Community Audit (twelve pages) is available from the **National Citizens Council on Civil Rights,** New York. It tells how to organize an "audit on civil rights" in your own home town. A companion piece describes *The Montclair Community Audit* (eight pages), by the **Community Relations Service of New York.**

Attractively printed in gray on

pellow—but with type in gray ink mighty hard to read—*A Philosophy for Adult Education,* by Paul Bergevin, has been published by **Purdue-Indiana University Community Services** at Bloomington, Indiana. The author concludes that "Adult education in a democracy should point to broadening the horizons of its citizens in social, cultural, vocational and physical areas in order to maintain and further develop: (1) an intelligent electorate; (2) a healthy and happy citizenry; (3) vocationally competent workers; (4) a broader cultural base for all; (5) an understanding of our rights and responsibilities and those of our fellow men."

The **Bureau of Adult Education of the New York State Education Department** has two new pamphlets on citizenship. *Bridging the Gap* (32 pages), issued by the **Young Adult Education Staff,** by cartoon and primer-style reading matter discusses that transitional stage for young people between school and community civic life. "Unless they find some way to bridge this gap," says the primer, "young adults are apt to lose interest in their community." Suggested as one remedy is formation of a **Youth Adult Civic Council.**

The bureau's second pamphlet is *The Community Project in International Understanding* (32 pages) part one of which explains what it is, with part two listing recommendations.

The *Report of the Third National Conference on Citizenship,* held in Washington May 16-19, 1948 (112 pages), under the auspices of the **National Education Association** and the **United States Department of Justice,** may be obtained from the National Education Association in Washington at 50 cents.

The **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, Chamber of Commerce, Citizens' Council on City Planning, Committee of Seventy,** and the **Philadelphia Committee of the Pennsylvania Economy League** have cooperated in the publication of *How to Modernize Philadelphia's Government* (31 pages, ten cents). Discussed are city-county consolidation, home rule, debt stabilization and consolidation of the registration commission, which operates under the city, and the board of elections, which operates under the county.

You Are the Government—A Handbook for Minnesota Citizens (96 pages, 25 cents) has been compiled by the **League of Women Voters of St. Paul.** Addressed "To Mary and John Citizen and Little Mary and Little John Future Citizens," the pamphlet describes how to vote, the setup of political parties, organization of the state of Minnesota as well as the various local governments, with some comment on the federal government and the United Nations. Charts lend visual aid.

The small community is discussed in *Your Community . . . Which Way?* (ten pages) and *Community Survival* (nineteen pages), issued by the **College of Agriculture of the University of Illinois.** Both describe the need for community betterment with the latter giving yardsticks as exemplified by several central Illinois towns cooperating with the **Central Illinois Community Betterment Program.**

The **Department of City and Regional Planning of the University of North Carolina** has issued a reprint from the *High School Journal* of March-April 1949 on *Educational Activities of Planning Agencies with the Public Schools* (96 pages, 30 cents). Programs in the schools of Greensboro (North Carolina), Philadelphia, Detroit and Valley Forge (Tennessee) are described.

(Continued on page 368)

Researcher's Digest . . . . Edited by John E. Bebout

Viewing the Forest as Well as the Trees

Hoover Commission Leads New Trend in Research

THE Hoover Commission may be more important historically for what it is doing to governmental research, political thinking and civic action than for its immediate effect on the organization of the executive branch of the federal government. There has been a tendency for governmental research both in the universities and in the bureaus to concentrate on limited areas or specific problems which could be neatly wrapped up in a Ph. D. dissertation or in a bureau report that might produce tangible if not world-shaking results.

Undoubtedly the war and the prolonged crisis which has followed it have forced students, statesmen and citizens to ask themselves more earnestly than ever how our political ideas and the details and pieces of our system add up. Then came the Hoover Commission, with the most impressive array of research talent and practical experience ever brought together on a single project, to demonstrate that if our system is to be kept healthy we must not only prune each individual tree but we must also consider the forest and how to maintain the proper balance among the living forces that make it up.

The Hoover Commission example has already caused more than half the states to establish or consider similar committees to study state functions. Counties and municipalities are also talking about "little Hoover commissions."

Various reports of the commission and of its task forces have been and will be reported in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. We call special attention here to *Index to the Reports of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government* (77 pages) prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. This is particularly helpful to a researcher who wants to turn quickly to parts of the reports that might throw light on state or local problems.

Certain studies supporting the commission's very sketchy report on federal-state relations, heretofore unavailable, have been printed for the Subcommittee to Study Intergovernmental Relations of the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments: *Report on Federal-State Relations,* by Council of State Governments; *Appendix to Report on Federal-State Relations,* by Council of State Governments; *Report of Task Force Committee on Federal-State Relations,* T. J. Coolidge, chairman; *Development of Governmental Powers in the United States,* by Stanford Schewel; *State-Federal Overlapping Taxes,* by Roswell Magill.

More light is shed on this subject in the report of joint hearings on a National Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, printed for the subcommittee. The report includes testimony and prepared statements from many sources, including Professor William Anderson, Carl Chatters and the Division of Tax Research of the Treasury Department.

A helpful compendium, *Basic Information on the Reorganization of the Executive Branch, 1912-1948,* compiled by W. Brooke Graves, has been issued

by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. This 425-page book has a chronological list of all reorganization commissions and acts during that period, important proposals from other sources and presidential statements on reorganization.

A useful 27-page *Summary of Reports of the Hoover Commission,* compiled by Elmer P. Wohl, of the Public Administration Clearing House, was published in the spring 1949 number of the *Public Administration Review* and is available in reprint form at moderate prices.

Other useful summaries or digests of the Hoover reports include: *Reorganizing the Executive Branch of the Federal Government* (25 pages), issued by the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York; *Big Government; Can It Be Managed Efficiently?* (24 pages), a supplement to *Fortune* for May 1949; *Chaos in the Government—and What to Do About It* (48 pages, 50 cents), by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States; *Digest of Reports of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government* (61 pages), by the staff of the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments (U. S. Government Printing Office); and "Hoover Commission Highlights: Report Recommendations Summarized," an article in the May issue of *Tax Digest* (California Taxpayers' Association).

The Hoover report has done more than set a style for future governmental surveys. It also appears to be setting a style in citizen follow-up. Under the leadership of Mr. Hoover himself a vigorous campaign of public education has been started with the guidance and assistance of a Citizens Committee for Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government, headed by Dr. Robert L. Johnson, president of Temple University. State committees are being formed and local citizens committees are beginning to spring up partly as a result of stimulation and leadership furnished by the Governmental Research Association, which has urged all its members to take the initiative in their communities.

Local Action Committees

The G. R. A. has furnished its members with an excellent manual, *Organizing a Local Committee to Support Hoover Commission Findings.* The foreword of the manual begins, "Good government is in danger of becoming an abstraction, like peace or kindness, which everyone favors but which few people do anything about." It points out that after meeting an enthusiastic public response the Hoover proposals have run against the tough wall of bureaucratic and special interest opposition.

The manual includes instructions on how to set up a local committee, a sample speech entitled "Reducing our Federal Waste-Line," a list of members of the commission and task forces by states.

It should be recognized that comprehensive as was the job of the Hoover Commission it has not itself necessarily raised all or even most of the ultimate questions that need to be answered before we can be sure that our federal government, to say nothing of state, county or municipal government, is an adequate instrument of twentieth century democracy.

Two members of the commission even denied the propriety of the commission considering the question of federal-state relations, despite the fact that state and even local governments are more and more becoming agencies for carrying out services projected

and supported by Congress. Unfortunately the report adds little or nothing to the thinking on the basic issues of federalism.

Similarly, although it necessarily deals incidentally with relations between the executive agencies and Congress, it could not attack the crucial problem of adapting the legislative branch to the tremendous tasks and strains of modern government.

This being the case, work for fundamental improvement of legislative representation, organization and procedure continues to be a particularly important responsibility of political scientists and of citizen research and action agencies. Fortunately there are numerous indications in current literature of increasing attention to overall problems of governmental structure and performance.

For example, the Southern Political Science Association has recently issued two volumes of papers which, generally speaking, fit into this frame. *The Southern Political Scene 1938-1948,* (two dollars), edited by Taylor Cole and John H. Hallowell, consists of an introduction and fourteen articles reprinted from the May and August 1948 numbers of its *Journal of Politics.* The volume includes papers on recent social change and economic developments in the south, recent southern political thought, southern governors, southern legislatures and legislation, trends in public administration and local government, and governmental planning in the south.

Another comprehensive volume is *The Presidency in Transition* (two dollars), edited by Robert S. Rankin, reprinted from the February 1949 *Journal of Politics.*

The literature on the evolution and meaning of the presidency was substantially enriched in 1948 by the appearance of James Hart's *The American Presidency in Action: A Study in Constitutional History* (Macmillan, four dollars). There also appeared a new edition of Professor Edward S. Corwin's study of the presidency from the point of view of public law, *The President: Office and Powers, 1787-1948* (New York University Press, $6.75).

It would, of course, be possible to extend this catalogue almost indefinitely into many fields. The point is that there are increasing numbers of books, articles and monographs that indicate a tendency of research and writing on our political institutions to recapture the broad view and the deep thinking that made American political writing in our first constitution-making period so distinguished.

Bureau Notes

Fifty prominent Memphians have organized a Civic Research Committee and named Mrs. Henry Rau executive secretary. The committee is "for research and the study of and dissemination of information regarding ways and means for improving city and county government in the city of Memphis and in the county of Shelby, Tennessee," according to the charter application.

Topics and discussion leaders for the Governmental Research Association Conference, to be held at Bedford Springs, Pennsylvania, September 7, 8, 9, have been announced by Louis D. Brown, secretary. These include: civil service vs. spoils system, Loren B. Miller, chairman; optional local taxing responsibilities, Carl R. Dortch, chairman; police protection, Bruce Smith, chairman; street cleaning, refuse removal and disposal, Lennox L. Moak, chairman; and university preparation for governmental research, Fred A. Schuckman, chairman.

The May 1949 *Kansas Government Journal,* published by the League of

Kansas Municipalities, carries a list of the state's local government information sources and research services as well as of the more important local government research publications of the state.

Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Conference of the Western Governmental Research Association (42 pages) covers the following panel discussions: Reports to Top Management, A Problem in Research, Garrett R. Breckenridge, chairman; Research Faux Pas, Gordon M. Bain, chairman; Coordinating Research Activities, Edwin A. Cottrell, chairman; Research on Intergovernmental Relations, Paul E. Carrico, chairman; and Research on Taxation, James Musatti, chairman. Addresses on Dissemination of Government Research, by Peter Odegard, Can We Distinguish the Public Segment from the Private Segment of our Economy? by Arthur G. Coons, and An Administrator Looks at Research, by Wayne R. Allen, are also printed in the *Proceedings,* which may be obtained from the Office of the Secretariat, University of California, Berkeley, for one dollar.

Two research organizations have recently issued their annual reports. The Nevada Taxpayers Association's 27th Annual Report is found in the April 1949 issue of the *Nevada Tax Review.* The annual report of the Jasper County (Missouri) Tax Economy Association is entitled *Saving Your Tax Dollars in Jasper County.*

The Fourteenth Annual Institute of Government of the University of Washington will be held in Seattle July 11-15. Included in the program are sections on local action in democracy, law enforcement, planning, public welfare, traffic engineering, civil rights, taxation, public library administration, public relations and development of the Columbia Valley Basin.

California Public Survey, a new monthly digest of information published by the Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, will "present a cross section of current publications and developments in the domestic aspects of our government." The first issue contains four sections: In the News, From Washington, From the States, and On the Desk, the last being a list of books and publications received.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Atomic Energy

The Peacetime Uses of Atomic Energy. By Paul W. Gilles. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* May 15, 1949. 3 pp.

Bibliography

Currently Available Bulletins and Reports. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* May 20, 1949, 3 pp.

Budgets

Final City Budget. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* May 19, 1949. 4 pp.

A Manual for Municipal Budgeting. By Edward McKenna Johnson, Jr. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 22 pp.

Needed — Efficient Budgetary Accounting. Woonsocket, Rhode Island, Taxpayers Association, *Your Business,* June 1949. 2 pp.

Supervisors Face Budget Problem. ("One of the largest potential tax increases ever to confront a board of supervisors.") San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* May 4, 1949. 2 pp.

Taxpayers' Calendar 1949 (county and other local units). Indianapolis, Indiana Taxpayers Association. 2 pp.

Tracking Down the Expenditure Dollar. Cleveland, Citizens League, 1949. 17 pp.

Civil Service

State Personnel Body Controls State Employees, Supervises Local Agencies. ("State Civil Service Functions and Organization Described.") Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer,* May 1949. 1 p. chart, table.

Constitutions

The Constitution of Kentucky: Suggestions for Revision. By Thomas D. Clark, Alvin E. Evans, Gladys M. Kammerer, C. S. Lowry, James W. Martin, Paul Oberst, J. E. Reeves, Jasper B. Shannon, William S. Taylor, Amry Vandenbosch, Kenneth E. Vanlandingham and Kenneth P. Vinsel. Lexington, University of Kentucky, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1948. 118 pp.

The Executive Branch in New State Constitutions. By Leslie Lipson. Chicago, American Society for Public Administration, *Public Administration Review,* Winter 1949. 11 pp.

County Government

County Property Tax Levies Show General Rise. Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer,* May 1949. 1 p. table.

County Government in the State of Washington: Effect of Adoption of Proposed County Home Rule Constitutional Amendment. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1948. 36 pp.

Courts

Administrative Reforms in New Jersey's Courts. By Ralph R. Temple. New York, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* May-June 1949. 3 pp.

Education

New Schools. Lackawanna, New York, Tax Research Bureau, *Comments,* April 1949. 6 pp.

Statutory Control of Private Trade Schools. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1948. 45 pp.

That Salary Question Again. Atlantic City, New Jersey, Tax Survey Commission, 1949. 2 pp. table.

Elections and Voting

Are We Supporting Democracy on the Home Front? (An analysis of non-voting in the January local elections.) Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* May 20, 1949. 6 pp.

Popular Control of the Presidential Nominating Process. St. Paul, Minnesota Legislative Research Committee, 1948. 19 pp.

Fire Protection and Police

Organization for Public Safety. (Discussion of three organizational possibilities for the fire and police departments as contrasted with the present inefficient administrative board system in Providence.) Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* April 1949. 3 pp.

Hospitals

Organization of the Cleveland City Hospital. By Thomas H. and Doris D. Reed (for Consultant Service of National Municipal League). Cleveland, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1949. 44 pp.

Housing

Meeting Municipal Responsibility for More Adequate Housing. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, *Borough Bulletin,* June 1949. 4 pp.

Metropolitan San Diego Housing Survey. San Diego, State College Foundation, Institute of Public Opinion, 1948. 200 pp. tables, maps.

The Priorities on Government Action in the Field of Housing. Toronto, Citizens Research Institute of Canada,

fective Government, May 31, 1949. pp.

Report on Reclamation of an Industrial Suburb: A Municipal Rating udy of Fitzroy. Surrey Hills, Victria, Australia, Land Values Research roup, 1949. 38 pp. $1. (Apply to L. F. awden, 52 Guildford Road, Surrey ills, E. 10., Victoria).

Summary and Recommendations of Housing Program for Pittsburgh and legheny County. By Max Nurnberg. ttsburgh, Allegheny Conference on mmunity Development, 1949. 14 pp.

Labor Legislation

Recent State Labor Legislation. (Considers labor-management relations and or welfare and security legislation all states; California labor legislan in particular.) By Edward F. aniford. Berkeley, University of alifornia, Bureau of Public Administation, 1949. 56 pp. tables. $1.25.

Metropolitan Areas

Progress in Metropolitan Integration. y Thomas H. Reed. Chicago, Americn Society for Public Administration, *ublic Administration Review,* Winter 49. 10 pp.

A Study of the Fringe Areas of odesto, California. By James Wiln McGrew and Arthur Bruce Winter. enver, University of Denver, Departent of Government Management, 48. Variously paged, tables, maps. .50.

Population

Population of Michigan 1840 to 1960: n Analysis of Growth, Distribution nd Composition. (Appendix includes ata on the size of each incorporated lace in Michigan for each census year nce 1840 or that immediately followg incorporation.) By Amos H. Hawy. Ann Arbor, University of Michian, Bureau of Government, 1949. vii, 6 pp. tables, graphs, maps. $1.50.

Political Activity

Is Politics Necessary? (Forms of political activity: within a major party, third parties, pressure groups, congressional blocs.) By Rhoten A. Smith. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* April 15, 1949. 3 pp.

Public Health

South Carolina State Board of Health. By Christian L. Larsen and Jeanette Searles. Columbia, University of South Carolina, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 58 pp.

Purchasing

City Purchasing, Lackawanna, New York, Tax Research Bureau, *Comments,* January 1949. 6 pp.

Retirement Systems

Administration of the Contributory Retirement System of Taunton. Taunton, Massachusetts, Association of Commerce, *Bulletin,* March 28, 1949. 6 pp.

Proceedings, Local Government Conference on Retirement and Pensions for Pennsylvania Municipal Employees. (Contains reprints of addresses: "The Problem of Retirement and Pensions as Related to Local Government Administration," David H. Kurtzman; "The Pennsylvania Municipal Employees Retirement Law," Harry H. Meizlik; "The Essentials of Sound Planning for Retirement and Pennsylvania Local Government," Stephen B. Sweeney; also transcript of questions and discussion from the floor.) **The Pennsylvania Municipal Employees Retirement Law—A Summary.** Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, Institute of Local Government, 1949. 56 and 11 pp. respectively.

Public Employee Plans in Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* 1949. 4 pp.

School and State Employees' Retirement Systems—A Comparison. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Joint State Gov-

ernment Commission, March 1949. 60 pp. tables.

Should Public Employee Pension Systems Have Full Actuarial Reserves? Yes. By George B. Buck. **No.** By Edward D. Brown. New York, Governmental Research Association, *Reporter,* March-April 1949. 2 pp. each.

Taxation and Finance

Certain Timely Considerations Regarding City Finances and Related Matters. (Part 1, The City Debt Should Be Reduced; Part 2, City Public Improvement Programming Should Be Better Coordinated and Budgeted; Part 3, City Costs Should Be Reviewed and Budget Increases Avoided.) Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* May 17, 18, 19, 1949. 3, 2 and 2 pp. respectively.

Cost of Typical Functions in Largest Upstate (New York) Cities. Syracuse, Governmental Research Bureau, *Your Government,* May 31, 1949. 4 pp. graph.

Federally Owned Property in California. By Elizabeth Ferina and Edward F. Staniford. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, April 1949. 35 pp. tables. $1.

Is a Corporation Tax Michigan's Only "Way Out"? Detroit, Michigan Public Expenditure Survey, *Bulletin,* May 11, 1949. 2 pp.

The $1,600,000 Bond Issue. New Haven, Taxpayers Research Council, *Council Comment,* May 25, 1949. 2 pp.

Philadelphia's Rank in Operating Expenditures. Philadelphia's Rank in Per Capita Tax Revenues. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* May 24 and 31, 1949. 4 pp. each.

The Proposed Bond Issue for Woonsocket. Woonsocket, Rhode Island, Taxpayers Association, *Your Business,* May 1949. 2 pp.

CITIZEN ACTION

(Continued from page 361)

Strictly Personal

Elmer Plumas Fries, fighting editor-in-chief of the *Cincinnati Post* during the early years of that city's charter reform movement, died on May 18 at Columbus, Ohio. Fries was proud of the help he gave Cincinnati's fledgling city manager campaigns. In the drive for a new charter, led by Henry Bentley, Ralph Holterhoff, Murray Seasongood and Charles P. Taft, *The Post* stood alone among the newspapers of the city. Fries' exposure of what was generally described as the worst government in the nation played a large part in overthrowing the corrupt machine then in control.

The Chicago City Club reports in a recent *Bulletin* that **Frederick H. Deknatel,** one of its founders, died recently at the age of 81.

At its annual meeting on May 5 the Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning elected **Henry C. Beerits** as president. Mr. Beerits, an attorney, is administrative secretary of the American Friends Service Committee.

Robert K. Sawyer, director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, has been appointed executive director of the Greater Philadelphia Movement.

The Connecticut Merit System Association has named **William E. C. Bulkeley** as president, succeeding **Charles G. Morris,** now president emeritus.

John N. Rupp has been reelected by the board of trustees as president of the Seattle Municipal League. **Lorin Peterson,** the league's research director, has resigned to become community relations officer of the Adult Education Department of the University of Washington.

Books in Review

A Study of the Port of New York Authority. By Frederick L. Bird. New York, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 1949. 341 pp. illus. $5.

Those of us who are interested in the problems of metropolitan communities which sit astride state lines, as well as those who are interested in financing the cost of public improvements out of revenue, have cause to be grateful to the Port of New York Authority for enlisting the services of Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., for the only complete and up-to-date account of the nature and achievements of that great civic enterprise. The work has been done by Frederick L. Bird, one of the most competent scholars in the field of local government and public finance this country has produced.

The book is a splendid example of the printer's art, its large double-column pages being particularly adapted to the display of its illuminating tables and numerous well chosen and beautifully executed illustrations.

Dr. Bird, as might have been expected, has emphasized the financial procedures and debt management policies of the authority, but he has not neglected to explain its origin and development and the organization which has been responsible for its administrative success.

The Port of New York Authority was set up by compact between the states of New York and New Jersey in 1921. As originally conceived its chief purpose was the integration of the freight-handling facilities of the port of New York, in which field it met with only indifferent success.

Happily, however, it was given broad powers with regard to the development of the port in other directions, particularly the matter of vehicular transportation between New Jersey and New York. Here its success has been phenomenal. Three of its facilities — the Holland Tunnel which it took over after construction and the Washington Bridge and Lincoln Tunnel which it constructed—now carry almost 90 per cent of the vehicles which cross the Hudson to Manhattan. They have proved veritable gold mines and have given the securities of the authority a basis so strong as to make the financing of other enterprises possible.

The authority maintains three bridges from New Jersey to Staten Island, a less-than-carload freight terminal in Manhattan, a grain elevator in Brooklyn, and is in the process of setting up truck terminals in New York and Newark and a great passenger bus terminal in mid-Manhattan.

It has also assumed by lease the three great airports of the metropolis—Newark, LaGuardia and International —and the port facilities of the city of Newark.

It has advanced plans, apparently definitely rejected, for the management of the waterfront properties of the U. S. government in Hoboken and of the city of New York. Dr. Bird's volume makes the accomplishment of all these things seem financially possible for the giant Port Authority.

It is interesting that so much can be done by a quasi-municipal corporation without power to tax, except indirectly in the form of fees higher than the cost some of its individual projects would warrant. No other ad hoc metropolitan agency has achieved so great prosperity or spread its arms to embrace so much power. Of course, no other authority has been given a monopoly—except for the obsolete and withering ferry routes — of vehicular transportation facilities between a

large part of the continental United States and Manhattan Island.

So long as the traffic will stand stiff tolls without complaint the Port of New York Authority will have increasing sums to devote to other objects. If they prove similarly profitable there is almost no limit to what it might do for New York. It might even do something toward providing parking places for the thousands of vehicles it siphons into Manhattan every day.

Unique as the financial opportunities of this multiple-purpose authority have been, there is still much for other communities to learn from its operation. Perhaps the most important is the need of keeping an authority out of politics and free to serve the public interest with undivided zeal. The slowness of the Port of New York Authority to adopt standard budget practices and personnel procedures is, on the other hand, nothing to be imitated by other agencies with less resources.

This book will be read by many prospective investors in the securities of the Port of New York Authority. It should also be read by those who wish to observe a successful instance of public administration of large-scale enterprises as well as by the sorely perplexed students of metropolitan phenomena.

THOMAS H. REED

Office of General Services. Supply Activities. A Report to the Congress. **Task Force Report on the Federal Supply System.** Washington, D. C., The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, 1949. 52 and 116 pp. 20 and 25 cents respectively.

These documents are undoubtedly the most comprehensive, penetrating and constructively critical studies yet produced on the federal government's supply activities.

They were made under the direction of the outstanding authority on governmental purchasing in this country and a former secretary of the National Municipal League, Russell Forbes, who was assisted by a large staff of experts lent by business and government.

The magnitude of the problem is indicated by the statements that the federal government "is spending more than six billion dollars a year for new material, supplies and equipment for the regular activities of the civilian and military agencies." It "also has in storage, in the continental United States, military and civilian inventories valued at twenty-seven billion dollars. No one knows accurately the total worth of government personal property currently being used, but its million or more motor vehicles, for example, have a value of at least two billion dollars." And it also pays out annually more than "$440,000,000 in salaries of the nearly 150,000 employees working in supply operations."

Among the major deficiencies of federal supply operations are: the lack of any central body to coordinate government purchasing activities, lack of competent personnel in many purchasing offices, failure to plan purchasing operations, lack of information and funds to permit taking advantage of favorable market conditions, lack of cost records and an overemphasis on routine soliciting of bids and awarding of contracts to the lowest bidder.

There are too many storage warehouses with resulting duplicate inventories, storehouses are not well located with reference to use of their materials and they have excessive stocks.

Insufficient study of the problem of transporting government property undoubtedly implies excessive expenditures in this field. Many specifications are out of date, in certain cases they do not exist where they are needed,

d valid specifications are not being forced.

Inspection methods are not uniform d inspection services and testing oratories are scattered over the untry without any coordination. me duplication of laboratory facili-s was found.

At present there are many unrelated stems of property identification in e, resulting in confusion and duplica-n. Too little attention has been ven to obtaining a maximum use of rsonal property. "Some agencies aintain no property controls and merous agencies have not inven-ried their property in years." This s resulted in the accumulation of rge inventories of surplus property.

Such a staggering indictment of deral supply operations springs from ven primary causes:

1. Supply is not fully recognized as important executive function,

2. The organization to handle supply eration is inadequate,

3. The personnel system does not ovide a competent staff,

4. A maze of laws and regulations ncourages routine buying,

5. Insufficient laws and regulations in ne fields of storage and issue, traffic ecifications, inspection and property lentification,

6. The budgeting system fails to mphasize the need of advance plan-ing of supply requirements,

7. There is a failure to compile the roper type of statistical and cost data.

In such a brief review as this, space oes not permit listing the many ecommendations of this report. They ppear to be sound, however, and well esigned to improve federal supply rganization, operation and personnel.

CHARLTON F. CHUTE
Philadelphia Division
Pennsylvania Economy League

Twelve Against the Underworld. By Norman E. Nygaard. New York, Hobson Book Press, 1947. xiv, 159 pp.

A source book—the narrative of how twelve ministers went to war on protected vice in their city of Steubenville, Ohio. Their first move, in 1946, was a joint advertisement showing that their next Sunday's sermons at their twelve churches would all be entitled "Enemies Within Our Gates," dealing with "current vice conditions in our city." They had a thin time of it for a while but learned that every setback won new friends, resulting finally in a new and decent regime in city hall after the next election and a change in Steubenville's long established and unsavory municipal reputation.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Bonding

Surety Bonds. Bonding the Public Official. A Report of the Committee on Surety Bonds. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1949. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Budgets

Issues Involved in Federal Budget. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, March-April 1949. 16 pp.

Community Development

Community Development (Basic Information Sources). By Victor Roterus and Max R. Bloom. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Business Information Service, 1949. 10 pp.

New Industry Comes to the South. A Summary of the Report of the NPA Committee of the South on Location of Industry. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1949. 32 pp. $1.

Debt

Governmental Debt in 1948. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1949. 8 pp.

Democracy

Liberty—A Path to Its Recovery. By F. A. Harper. Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, Foundation for Economic Education, 1949. 159 pp. $1.50 clothbound; $1 paperbound.

Laws

Action Upon All Printed Bills and Concurrent Resolutions by 37th General Assembly of Colorado. By Hubert D. Henry. Denver, 1949. 27 pp. (Apply author, 620 E. & C. Building, Denver 2.)

Digest of 1949 Laws Affecting Towns. Albany, New York, Association of Towns of the State of New York, 1949. 36 pp.

Local Government Laws. Text, Cases and Other Materials. By Jefferson B. Fordham. Brooklyn, New York, The Foundation Press, Inc., 1949. xxx, 1060 pp. $8.

Management

The Job of Management at the Supervisory Level. By Waldo E. Fisher. Pasadena 4, California, Industrial Relations Section, California Institute of Technology, 1949. 4 pp. (Single copies complimentary. Quantity prices upon request.)

Office Management for Health Workers. By Frances King and Louis L. Feldman. New York, The Commonwealth Fund, 1949. vii, 164 pp. $2.25.

Mapping

Cleveland Regional Geodetic Survey. By G. Brooks Earnest. Cleveland, Regional Association, 1949. 15 pp.

Mapping Proves Economical Expedient in Planning Growth of Large Cities. Symposium Presented Before ASCE's Surveying and Mapping Division. By G. Brooks Earnest, Charles B. Taylor, Jr., and Virgil Kauffman. Philadelphia 20, Aero Service Corporation, 1948. 10 pp. photos.

Your Land — Surveys, Maps and Titles. By Fred C. Morris, Blacksburg, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, 1949. 95 pp. 75 cents.

Planning

Annual Report on Long Range Planning. By Brookline Planning Board, William Stanley Parker, Consultant. Brookline, Massachusetts, The Board, 1948. 24 pp.

A Capital Outlay Program 1949-1954 for Town of Reading, Massachusetts. Reading, The Capital Expenditures Planning Committee, 1949. 23 pp.

Report on a Long Range Financial Plan. Weston, Massachusetts, Planning Board, 1949. 27 pp.

A Six-Year Financial Plan Including a Program of Capital Outlays 1949-1954. Malden, Massachusetts, The City Planning Board, 1949. 32 pp.

Population

Estimates of the Population of Continental United States by Age, Color and Sex: 1946 to 1948. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1949. 9 pp.

Public Works

Ninth Annual Report Federal Works Agency. Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1948. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1949. 46 pp. 20 cents.

Streets and Highways

Major Thoroughfares (Preliminary Report). By Toledo-Lucas County Plan Commissions. Toledo, Commission of Publicity and Efficiency, 1949. 18 pp.

Taxicab Regulation

Taxicabs — Regulation by Cities — Model Annotated Ordinance. By Charles S. Rhyne. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1949. 49 pp. $3.